ARTISANS, EVANGELICALS, AND THE CITY:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ABOLITION AND LABOR REFORM IN JACKSONIAN NEW YORK

by

JOHN BARKLEY JENTZ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1977

UMI

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 27, 1977
date

Eric Foner
Chairman of Examining Committee

June 27, 1977
date

Harold C. Syrett
Executive Officer

Herbert G Gutman
Richard C. Wade
Harold C Syrett
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PREFACE

This dissertation is a social history of reform in Jacksonian New York City, focusing on the labor and abolitionist movements. Although the whole era was noted for its myriad social causes, these two came to dominate the discussion among reformers about what was wrong with the American republic; and both were part of larger cultural traditions with deep roots and future significance. Immediate abolition in the 1830s grew out of the benevolent empire of evangelical reform, composed of interlocking mission societies and inspired with urgency and millennial hope by the revivals of the Second Great Awakening. Similarly, there was a "labor empire" based in the artisan communities of the nation's cities. It had an analogous complex of institutions including labor newspapers, mechanics' institutes, unions, political parties, cooperatives, mutual benefit societies, and public rituals like parades. The labor empire also hoped to regenerate society and spoke in a millennial tone of its future hopes. Each party of reform even had its own itinerant lecturers: Francis Wright and Robert Owen drew throngs just like Theodore Dwight Weld and Angelina Grimké.

These lecturers drew different audiences, however--Francis Wright, for example, from urban artisans and

Theodore Dwight Weld from the provincial middle class in places like western New York and northern Ohio. The parties of reform had both different constituencies as well as different solutions for the decline of the American republic. The whole ferment of the era expressed a crisis in the nation's republican tradition as economic and social changes transformed the country in ways that contradicted inherited cultural and political values. Both wealth and social distinctions increased as laissez-faire capitalism developed in the early nineteenth century. A propertyless wage-earning class became a permanent and growing reality just as slavery prospered and expanded into the Southwest instead of slowly declining as had been hoped by eighteenth-century abolitionists. Slavery and inequality represented the main threats to the republic as perceived by the two chief parties of reform. Seeing different challenges, they competed with each other for the attention of the nation's reformers. Their competition and antagonism is well known, but not their interconnection. While disagreeing politically, they shared a similar morality of industry, frugality, and temperance; and the political events of the era forced the abolitionists in particular to appeal to the constituency of the labor movement in an effort to find support wherever they could. The same events combined with the antislavery tradition of radical artisans to give the abolitionists an audience. There was therefore a significant relationship between labor and abolition, and it is studied here not only because of its inherent importance in the history of reform but also because it helps reveal the larger transformation of American society by laissez-faire capitalism.

Jacksonian America is difficult to study but peculiarly significant because of its transitional character. As Leonard Richards says, "the old, traditional, agrarian order that Thomas Jefferson idealized was just out of reach, and the new order of modern capitalism was just coming into being. To men of the Jacksonian generation, therefore, the ways of the traditional community were neither wholly relevant nor completely irrelevant."[1] This ambivalence was reflected in the culture of artisans, whose strong tradition of republicanism gave them a fundamental commitment to American political and economic institutions as well as values like independence and equality which were at odds with the economic changes they felt so keenly. Recent scholars have distinguished between industrialization defined as mechanization and the earlier changes in the relations of production which made it possible, changes like the emergence of a permanent wage-earning class and of entrepreneurs who owned the means of production and hired wage labor as a commodity.[2] Fundamental changes in work patterns and authority relationships within traditional artisan production were taking place in the Jacksonian era even though factories were still a small element in the national economy. Republicanism was one of the two main cultural traditions that Americans, and artisans in particular, used to understand and judge these economic and social transformations resulting from the development of laissez-faire capitalism. Protestantism was the other.

Protestant Christianity and republicanism both contained deeply held values which were contradicted by the economic changes of the period. Gordon Wood and Herbert Gutman have both shown how Protestant values could be used against the emergence of a modern capitalist economy.[3] Ben Franklin's maxins were not the only example of the uses to which the Protestant ethic could be put. On the other hand, this ethic contributed to the formation of a modern work force. Like republicanism, therefore, Protestantism was a cultural battleground where the nature and meaning of the transformation of America was fought out. Studying the two parties of reform in Jacksonian New York City offers the opportunity to see these cultural traditions in the process of change as reformers applied them to the problems they faced.

Analyzing reform is also significant because it expressed the transformation of American culture and society more directly than the two major political parties. Both historians and political scientists have shown how American political parties have sought to suppress divisive issues in order to build the national coalitions necessary for victory. Thus their programs and platforms are usually of little significance in understanding the most important social questions. One scholar notes, for example, that the platforms of the Albany Regency, the predecessor of the Jacksonian Democrats, had "virtually no substantive planks"; and Edward Pessen concludes that the fundamental questions facing the country--like slavery and the distribution of wealth--were excluded as much as possible from the

UMI

Jacksonian political system.[4] Social reformers and third parties were not under similar restraints, and they expressed most clearly the profound problems and issues facing American society. Thus the subjects of this essay--abolitionists and radical workingmen--reveal a social reality larger than their numbers or political significance would at first indicate. Their ideas and interrelationships help define the character of one of the most profound transitions undergone by American society in the nineteenth century.

My intellectual debts in this work will be apparent in the footnotes, but special mention should be made of Herbert Gutman and my advisor, Eric Foner. Both of them introduced me to the "new labor history" which will be so evident in the pages that follow. Not only did Eric Foner keep me abreast of recent scholarship but he also encouraged me when I was lost amidst the sources, particularly by asking the significant questions which permitted me to see the larger meaning of my evidence and distinguish between the more and less important material. Herbert Gutman stimulated my interest in the Jacksonian period; and a paper I did for him on the celebration of Tom Paine's birthday convinced me that one should study evangelical reformers and labor radicals together, in part because they had so much to say about each other.

I would like to thank Walter Hugins for giving me a copy of his list of 850 Workingmen in New York City; without it my comparisons of the labor movement and the signers of the abolitionist petitions would have been impossible.

Finally, I am indebted to the National Society of Colonial Dames for a Dissertation Fellowship in 1975-76 which permitted me to devote more time to my research.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Leonard L. Richards, *"Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 167.

[2] See this dissertation, chapter one, part two.

[3] Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 47-124, 418-419; Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 79-117.

[4] Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 311-325.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE iv

LIST OF TABLES xii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xiii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION: NEW YORK AS A MERCANTILE CITY, 1820-1840 1

PART I. REFORM AT A TURNING POINT, 1829-30

II. TRADITIONAL PHILANTHROPISTS IN A NEW AGE: THE NEW YORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY AND THE FIRST PETITION CAMPAIGN AGAINST SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 39

III. EVANGELICALS AND A NEW MORAL ORDER: THE SABBATARIAN CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SUNDAY MAIL . 66

IV. ARTISANS AND THE DECLINE OF THE REPUBLIC: THE JACOBIN TRADITION AND THE NEW YORK WORKINGMEN'S PARTY 112

PART II. REFORM IN A NEW ERA: THE 1830s

V. ABOLITION IN NEW YORK CITY: IMMEDIATISM AND ITS CONSTITUENCY 162

VI. THE LABOR EMPIRE AND ITS TRADITIONALIST OPPONENTS: THE WORLD OF ARTISAN REFORM IN JACKSONIAN NEW YORK CITY 234

VII. CONCLUSION: WHOSE REPUBLIC AND WHAT KIND OF LIBERTY? 277

APPENDICES 289

BIBLIOGRAPHY 481

LIST OF TABLES

Table | Page

1.1 Sample of New York City's Artisans in the 1829 Directory Divided by Major Trade Groups 7

1.2 New York City's Population, 1790 to 1840 . . . 19

1.3 Aliens and Immigrants Arriving in New York City, 1820-1840 22

1.4 Immigration from the United Kingdom to the United States, 1820-1850 23

1.5 Occupational Groups in New York City Based on Samples of Selected City Directories, 1829-1840 30

2.1 Antislavery Societies in the United States in 1827 Listed by State and Number of Members . . 47

2.2 Occupational Comparison: Two Antislavery Petitions from 1829 and a Sample of the 1829 Directory of New York City 54

2.3 Trade Group Comparison of Artisans: 1829 Antislavery Petition with 1462 Signers and the Sample of the 1829 New York City Directory . . 55

3.1 Occupational Comparison: Two Petitions Against the Sunday Mail from 1827 and 1829, the Large Antislavery Petition from 1829, and the Sample of the 1829 Directory of New York City 81

3.2 Trade Group Comparison of Artisans: 1829 Sunday-Mail Petition, 1829 Antislavery Petition with 1462 Signers, and the Sample of the 1829 New York City Directory 83

4.1 Occupational Comparison: The Workingmen's Party Party of 1829-30, the Sunday-Mail Petition of 1829, the Larger Antislavery Petition of 1829, and a Sample of the 1829 Directory of New York City 139

5.1 Percentage of Signers in Various Occupational Groups Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions 204

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure Page

5.1 Proportion of Merchants Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, Compared to their Representation in Samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories 206

5.2 Proportion of Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, Compared to their Representation in Samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories 206

5.3 Proportion of Shopkeepers and Proprietors Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, Compared to their Representation in Samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories 207

5.4 Proportion of Artisans Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, Compared to their Representation in Samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories 207

5.5 Proportion of Laborers and Cartmen Signing 12 Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, Compared to their Representation in Samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories 208

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: NEW YORK AS A MERCANTILE CITY, 1820-1840

I

Between 1815 and 1840 New York was an expanding mercantile city, no longer a colonial port but not yet a nineteenth-century industrial center. Merchants and the commerce they controlled dominated its economy. During this era they led New York into its preeminent position as America's largest port, while they expanded and specialized their own businesses, making them significantly different from the old counting houses of the eighteenth century. Responding to the opportunities of enlarged markets, artisan entrepeneurs increased the scale of their production in alliance with merchant capitalists who usually funded their efforts. Population and immigration kept pace with economic developments, requiring the city to steadily expand northward. Like America's other large cities the rate of New York's population growth doubled that of the nation. Immigration accounted for most of New York's growth, increasing so much in the 1830s as practically to constitute a new phenomenon. The city's politics also underwent drastic change after the constitution of 1821 democratized the state's government. New parties and social groups entered the political arena.

And yet political democratization did not fundamentally alter the long-term trend toward the accumulation of more and more wealth in the upper classes. This increasing social stratification added to the political divisions of the era. Each of these developments in the city's history requires discussion.

The "forest of masts" was the first thing that visitors typically commented upon as they arrived by ship in New York's bustling harbor. The waterfront was the center of activity. In a mercantile city like New York, "The dock, the warf, the counting house, and the warehouse were the principal foci of the urban economy . . . ."[1] The preeminence of commerce in the city was apparent even in 1840, when over five times as much capital was invested in commerce and trade as in manufacturing; but commerce must have been even more significant earlier when manufacturing was less developed. By 1841 New York was unquestionably the leading port in the nation, controlling almost 60 percent of the country's foreign imports and 44 percent of its total foreign trade. The visitor from abroad would have found himself jostling with native businessmen from around the country who were in New York to purchase goods in the nation's "commercial emporium." By one estimate in the late 1830s, the city had a "floating population" of 50,000 on any one day, composed mostly of native businessmen and foreign visitors. And this was when the city had a total population of 270,089 in 1835. Yet New York had only recently secured its preeminent status after the War of 1812.[2]

According to Robert Albion, the decade from 1815 to 1825 "determined that New York would outstrip the other seaports of America. One may even fix upon the year 1817 as the annus mirabilis when the all-important innovations were decided upon."[3] Although the British helped by "dumping" their manufactured goods on America through New York, the city's merchants acted imaginatively and aggresseively to secure the windfall. In 1817 they obtained state legislation which allowed the disbursement of imported goods through an auction system which permitted their sale for cut-rate prices, particularly in times of surplus. Hinterland merchants and shopkeepers flocked to the city in quest of bargains. In the same year a more important innovation was made--regular packet service to Liverpool. Ships of the famed "Black Ball Line" sailed on schedule regardless of whether they had sufficient cargo. Previously ships had waited for profitable goods to fill their hold. Regular and dependable packet service helped New York achieve commercial preeminence even before the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. The legislation to build that colossal project passed in 1817 as well. The canal assured New York's dominance by vastly expanding its commercial empire to include practically the whole Northwest. Also adding to New York's success in the decade after the War of 1812 was the establishment of regular steamboat service through Long Island Sound to New England and on the Hudson River. But most important, all these developments helped New York capture the trade in American cotton and English textiles, by far the two most significant items in transatlantic commerce.[4]

Between 1815 and 1860 "textiles amounted to nearly 60 percent of England's domestic exports and about one third of the imports to the United States," and New York practically monopolized their importation.[5] On the other hand, cotton was the principal export of the United States, and its earnings were the main stimulus to the development of the antebellum economy. The cotton crop was also the collateral for many British loans. After the War of 1812 New York dominated the commerce in both cotton and textiles through the "cotton triangle," a trade pattern that presupposed the increasing specialization of the South in raising staples and of the North in commerce, foreign exchange, and finished goods. The staples, especially cotton, that the South shipped North filled the regular packet ships on their voyages to England and paid for the manufactured goods like textiles and iron products that they brought back. By 1822 the cotton triangle was well established, and the value of its trade overshadowed the commerce in flour and other western products which came to the city when the Erie Canal opened in 1825. The South was also probably more valuable to New York than the West as a place to distribute finished products. Outstripping its rivals, New York had become "'The Great Commercial Emporium of the Confederacy,'" meaning not simply of the South but of the whole nation.[6]

These momentous economic developments assumed basic changes in the structure of commercial businesses. The 1790s constituted practically the last decade "for the general merchant firm, that is, for the enterprise which handled many commodities, engaged in both buying and selling, did not distinguish between wholesale and retail trade, acted as commission agent for others, and balanced its trade relations with essentially barter deals. In this world the pace of transactions was slow."[7] By the 1820s this traditional style of business was changing fundamentally, particularly as a national market developed based on innovations in transportation. All the functions previously performed by one firm began to be divided into specialized businesses dealing in retailing, wholesaling, banking, insurance, warehousing, etc. The velocity of commercial activity increased. Nevertheless, as John G. B. Hutchins noted in a discussion of America's seaport cities between 1790 and 1825, "The thing that strikes me is that we are talking about the end of an age . . . . in the styles and patterns of doing business, of conducting maritime trade, navigation, industrial operations, and inland transport the whole picture was much closer to that of one hundred years earlier, than it was to that of 1875 or 1914."[8] Thus as New York approached the end of an economic age it was difficult to determine the outlines of the new order. Significantly, however, the period about which Hutchins was speaking ended in 1825. The new changes in business organization continued and accelerated in the '30s, as did other economic and social developments including the transformation of artisan production.[9]

UMI

II

Manufacturing in mercantile New York was the province of artisans, the skilled craftsmen who made finished goods in America before the industrial era. Alan Pred has concisely described the state of manufacturing in America before 1840: "During the initial decades of the last century, American manufacturing was characterized predominantly by an emphasis on consumer rather than capital goods, by handicraft rather than machine techniques, by household and workshop rather than factory organization, and by rural dispersion rather than concentration in major urban centers . . . . The factory and industrial capitalism had not as yet become the cornerstones of metropolitan growth."[10] This pattern of development began to change in the 1840s as the country came out of the depression that began with the panic of 1837. The 1840s and '50s were a "transitional period" to late nineteenth-century urban industrial growth.[11]

As might be expected, manufacturing in mercantile New York was dependent on commerce. The most obvious link was in the processing of imported goods; thus, for example, by 1810 the processing of sugar, leather, and tobacco were prominent industries in Manhattan. The needs of commerce also directly stimulated industries like shipbuilding, coopery, and printing. The other industries of a mercantile port catered to the needs of a population supported by commerce: " . . . the production of construction materials, such as glass, nails, paint, 'paper hangings,' and plaster of Paris, and the manufacture of beer, baked goods, furniture,

UMI

clothing, carriages, and other consumer goods, was ubiquitous . . . because of the aggregate demand precipitated by the local mercantile population and the classes serving that population."[12] In fact, even though it was a dependent sector of the economy, manufacturing occupied a majority of the persons employed in the city. According to the federal census, 73 percent of the work force was engaged in manufacturing in 1820, 68 percent in 1840. Naturally most of the rest of the work force was involved in commerce. New York had not only a large number but also and incredible variety of artisans, as a glance at the samples of the New York City Directories in Appendices 21 and 22 will reveal. Table 1.1 divides the city's artisans in the 1829 Directory by major trade groups.[13]

TABLE 1.1

SAMPLE OF NEW YORK CITY'S ARTISANS
IN THE 1829 DIRECTORY DIVIDED BY
MAJOR TRADE GROUPS

Trade Groups	Percentage	Number
Building	27.4	101
Clothing	12.8	47
Furniture	9.0	33
Leather	8.7	32
Shipbuilding	8.7	32
Food	7.3	27
Metal	6.3	23
Printing	3.0	11
Other	16.8	62
Total	100.0	368

Source: 1829 Directory Sample. See App. 20.

UMI

Although most of the city's workers were employed in manufacturing, it was nevertheless economically subordinate to commerce; Pred attributes this to several factors. Most of the capital in the mercantile city was produced in the commercial sector and reinvested there or in land, particularly in profitable urban real estate. To raise substantial capital manufacturers had to borrow from unsympathetic merchants or the banks they controlled. Until the great migrations of the late 1840s the shortage and costliness of labor also hindered the development of manufacturing. Most immigrants who had been arriving were either unskilled or destined for rural sections of the country. Of course, short-term oversupplies of labor did occur, particularly in business slowdowns; and enterprising masters used as much unskilled labor as possible. Nevertheless, the general trend was for a skilled labor shortage. The state of technology also limited the expansion of industry, for the machines that made mass production possible had hardly been developed except in the textile industry. Even more important, water was still the most important source of power for industrial production, and it could not be moved to the cities. Although steam power was available it was too costly, especially because of the cost of the wood or coal fuel. The quality of the transportation network also added to costs and limited the available market, hindering the growth of anything but light manufacturing of products with high value, like furniture. Although better than roads, canal and river transportation was still costly and cumbersome compared to

UMI

the later railroad network; and the radius of the market around canals and rivers was relatively small. In addition, the markets in the seaboard cities themselves were too limited to support industrialization. All these factors--shortages of capital and labor, the low state of technology, a restricted transportation system, the limited markets--helped to keep the mercantile city dependent on commerce, whether it was foreign or domestic trade. The warf, not the factory, was still the center of the economy.[14]

In contrast, the household was the center of manufacturing. As the basic unit of production in America, the household had replaced the European guild system, while apprenticeship was never a strong tradition. During the eighteenth century the household incorporated all the elements of production--the master artisan, his property including his tools, his family, the skilled journeymen he hired, and the apprentices he trained. The master was both the head of a family and the owner and manager of a production unit. His paternalistic authority derived from both sources: "As a husband and father, the master superintended his wife and children [who were also workers]; as the owner of a workshop and raw materials, he set the tasks for the journeymen. In regard to dependent apprentices, the master's paternal and property authority were indistinguishable, and journeymen, too, especially those that boarded with the master, were subject to both forms of authority."[15] As a taxpayer and voter the master was the representative of his household in the larger community. He was also its link to the economy as he sold his product on custom order or in the larger market place. Ideally, the journeymen and apprentices would someday advance to master status themselves.[16]

Particularly in America's cities, artisans--masters and journeymen--were socially distinct from the professionals and merchants above them and the preindustrial laboring class below. They were, in other words, the upper level of the working class, distinguished from those below them not only by their skill but by their persistence in the occupation they learned in adolescence. In contrast, the laborer was "the epitome of versatility. To move from sea to canal digging, to hod carrying to factory work was well within the realm of possibility."[17] As the laborer shifted from job to job he moved from place to place, creating a transient urban laboring class. Besides men like day laborers and mariners, the laboring class also included the women and children employed in the early factories or in doing piece work on the putting-out system. The laboring class did not belong to the artisans' numerous trade and mutual benefit societies through which they tried to control their craft and provide insurance for their families in case of sickness and death. These societies were also symbols of status and power for men intimately involved in the social and political life of their community.[18]

Household production and the community of independent artisans it supported were under intense pressure from the expansive laissez-faire capitalism of the nineteenth century. The term laissez-faire capitalism is appropriate since it is too early to speak of industrialization; and yet the preconditions for later industrial growth were being laid. The economic changes can be better understood if one distinguishes between industrialization and mechanization. According to a recent article, "The use of mechanized production techniques constitutes only a single stage (with greater import for the economics than the sociology of industrialization) which occurred relatively late in the process of industrialization. John R. Commons' classic study of the shoe industry made clear that significant changes in the organization of work, authority relationships, and production techniques transformed the role of the craftsman long before mechanization was introduced."[19] In an effort to increase production, for example, the division of work and the use of unskilled labor were introduced well before factories appeared. In fact, "it seems that the most important developments in authority relationships and work roles occurred prior to mechanization."[20] Similarly, Alan Dawley thinks that, "A quarter of a century before the factory system, the relations of production essential to industrial capitalism were already present in Lynn [Massachusetts]," including particularly a group of entrepreneurs who owned raw materials and the means of production and hired wage labor as a commodity.[21] The rise of the merchant capitalists was the primary agent for this economic change.

Since he was at the center of economic activity in the mercantile city, possessing the indispensable credit for new ventures, the merchant was obviously in the prime position to take advantage of new opportunities. Although not of a sufficient scale to support modern industrial production, new markets did open up, both with industrializing England and with the staple-producing South. Comparing the mercantile city of the 1820s and '30s to later eras of industrialization, as Pred does, makes it sound relatively backward and restricted; but in comparison to its own colonial past the seaboard city of this era was expanding and transforming itself at a rapid rate. New York was an expansive preindustrial city in the 1820s and '30s. This was the era of the merchant capitalist who exploited new possibilities, often in conjunction with master artisans who could supply him with comparatively large quantities of finished goods.

The merchant capitalist was neither the master of a colonial counting house nor a modern industrialist. Classically defined by John R. Commons, he was a "capitalist-wholesaler" distinct from the contemporary "manufacturer on the one hand and the retailer on the other."[22] The sheer fact that his business had been specialized into wholesaling distinguished him from the colonial merchant who had united wholesale and retail in his one counting house as well as functions like insurance and credit. The fact that the merchant capitalist was supplying finished goods to new markets in the country showed that he was exploiting the elimination of market barriers between the colonies by the constitution of 1787. As a consequence, for example, advertising became a common practice, and not simply by merchant capitalists but also by enterprising master artisans as well: "During the colonial period advertising made up only a small part of newspaper copy, but by 1800 some daily papers carried hardly anything else."[23]

The influence of the merchant capitalist began to be felt in a few trades like shoemaking and furniture making around the turn of the century, but it reached its peak in the 1830s. By contracting for and selling large quantities of goods, the merchant capitalist helped transform the master artisan from an independent businessman producing and selling his own goods into "merely an incipient employer without capital--the 'boss,' the contractor,--the successor to the master workman--whose function was mainly that of driving the wage-bargain . . . . His profit was the margin between the prices he paid for labour and the prices he received from the wholesale-merchant, or merchant-capitalist, for his product."[24] In Lynn, Massachusetts, merchant capitalists bypassed the masters altogether by organizing large central shops in which they produced large quantities of shoes using hired wage labor sometimes in conjunction with the putting-system.[25]

Under the system of merchant capitalism the journeyman was no longer the partner in trade with the master on his way to becoming an independent businessman but rather simply a wage earner whom the boss had to exploit to increase his profit. Bosses began to "sweat" more work out of their journeymen and hire as much unskilled labor as possible, such as apprentices, women, and children. The putting-out system often allowed the distribution of portions of the task to unskilled and semi-skilled labor, particularly women. Well before modern industrial production some bosses shifted from handicrafting and custom orders to "large-scale production of parts" which could be assembled into considerable quantities of similar products, such as chairs.[26] Foreign competition as well as merchant capitalism pushed some masters into this quantity production. These processes initiated largely by the merchant capitalist promoted division between wage-earning journeymen and their employers, or former masters. The line was not always clear-cut, however, because some poorer masters were hardly above journeymen in their economic position. New York's shoemakers and tailors experienced conflict between journeymen and masters sooner than most trades. Journeymen in both crafts formed some of the most militant labor groups in early nineteenth-century New York City, and journeymen in general were the constituency of the Jacksonian labor movement.[27]

For journeymen the old ideal of achieving "independence" or master status became more and more remote as they became a permanent wage-earning class. Their predicament is described in Howard Rock's analysis of New York City's Jury Lists of 1819. (See Appendix 24.) Rock found a surprisingly narrow gap between the average age of journeymen and masters in the city's trades. Journeymen who were heads of households averaged in their low thirties while masters averaged only four to seven years older.[28] In six major trades there were considerable proportions of journeymen over forty.

UMI

Thus even by the late teens the rise from journeyman to master was no longer automatic in New York City, and substantial numbers of journeymen probably remained in that status all their lives. The Jury Lists also show that the journeymen and masters of 1819 differed considerably in wealth. Among the journeymen shoemakers that Rock analyzed only 6.5 percent owned personal property worth more than $150, whereas 68.6 percent of the master shoemakers did. And, as we have seen, this difference was not simply an indication of age in which young journeymen would naturally be expected to possess considerably less. The situation among the shoemakers was typical of that in five other trades. Given these differences in wealth, it is not surprising that most journeymen rented their dwellings, while considerable numbers of masters owned their home or shop. Just as significant, by 1819 it was no longer the rule for journeymen to live in the same dwelling as their employers: "More likely, were a traveler to walk through the streets of New York in 1819, he would find married journeymen renting houses with either one journeyman, or, a few cartmen or other men of similar social status."[29] Unmarried journeymen were likely to rent a room in one of the city's many boardinghouses. The journeymen were becoming a separate group with distinct economic interests while the old social controls that were part of household production were losing their grip.[30]

As primarily wage earners with little or no property journeymen were particularly vulnerable to business fluctuations and inflation. Economic security was difficult

UMI

to attain for journeymen, since there were economic slowdowns in 1819, 1825, 1828-29, 1834, and general depression after the panic of 1837. Besides, they were paid "in a paper currency that invariably was not worth its face value."[31] The inflationary '30s were particularly difficult: " . . . labor fared poorly during the Jacksonian era. Most modern studies indicate that real wages stood still during an otherwise exuberant economic surge in the 1830s, at best approximating what they had been at the turn of the century."[32] A glance at the annual budgets of journeymen carpenters and masons in Appendix 24 illustrates that these men had almost no room to absorb wage reductions whether by recessions, inflation, or employer design. The seasons of the year added to their insecurity since the winter months with their shorter days and inclement weather cut down on work time and stopped some industries, like construction, completely. When they did work, Rock estimates that, "In all, a journeyman's workday, inside or out, consisted of ten or more hours of labor for six days a week, including, for indoors tradesmen, the strain of working for hours by the light of glimmering candles."[33] Less prosperous masters probably worked a similar week. It then becomes very clear why the journeymen figured so prominently in the unions and radical political parties of Jacksonian New York City.[34]

Most of the labor force in New York was experiencing profound change between 1815 and 1840 as the city groped toward a new social and economic order. And yet the anticpations of the more industrialized society to come were

UMI

contained within the traditional form of a mercantile city. Even the city's physical structure expressed these tensions as immigration produced extraordinary population growth in a dense old town.

III

Mercantile New York was a compact, congested place, well described by Allan Pred:

> In some quarters, residential population densities approached or exceeded those encountered in modern high-rise housing projects. Source materials pertaining to New York capture some of the disorder juxtaposed with congestion: the odorous, overcrowded wooden piers--jammed with carts, drays, and wheelbarrows, with sailors, merchants, clerks, laborers, and carters--decaying and sagging amidst the . . . "forest of masts"; or the dirty, squalid streets, trafficked by scampering pigs, and flanked by hastily erected, frequently flimsy, wooden structures of two to six stories that contrasted starkly with the attractive brick residences of the small fashionable areas proximate to the Battery and Washington Square.[35]

The density and congestion meant that by twentieth-century standards the city had a high degree of racial, ethnic, and economic integration. There were, of course, defined neighborhoods and limited social circles, particularly for the rich; and in different wards the poor or the wealthy predominated. Nevertheless, although concentrating in some areas, immigrants and blacks, the lowest economic groups, were not restricted to ghettos and could be found throughout the city. Similarly a few of the wealthy were present in all wards. This integration was reflected in the city's social life. Writing in 1827 and 1828, James Fenimore Cooper thought that "a higher and lower order of men mingle

UMI

in commerce here, than is seen elsewhere" and concluded that this social mingling, seen typically in saloons, would last until the size of the city was sufficient to "leave everyone the perfect master of his own manner of living."[36] Political crowds and huge public meetings were easily organized in this dense and integrated social environment. So were petition campaigns that reached a diverse constituency.[37]

The congestion of the city was caused largely by the lack of cheap and convenient mass transportation. Since most people had to walk to work or conduct their business, they typically lived and worked in the same place or kept the two in close proximity. Even by 1840 the built up area of the city was almost completely below Fourteenth Street, comprising an area of about four square miles. Rudimentary forms of public transportation had been inaugurated in the late '20s and early '30s including regular stages and omnibuses as well as the horse-drawn New York and Harlem Railroad. Ferry service increased as well. Nevertheless, before 1840 this transportation was beyond the financial means of most of the city's population. With round trip fare on the omnibus at 25¢, a typical shipwright in 1837 would have had to pay an exorbitant amount of his $1.75 a day salary to ride to work; and shipwrights were better off than most of the city's workers. Only the upper crust of the artisan population plus the city's merchants and professionals could take advantage of public transportation to move up to Washington Square or perhaps to Brooklyn. Even for the minority which did commute to work the mean distance traveled in 1840 was not over a mile. Of course, the distance traveled decreased the further back one moved in time. In general, even in 1840 the great majority of the city's working population walked to work or lived where they were employed, and the explosive growth of the city northward had only just begun.[38]

Despite the city's physical compactness its population grew by over 50 percent for each decade between 1790 and 1840, except for the period 1810 to 1820 when the depression caused by the Embargo Acts and the War of 1812 considerably slowed its growth. New York had become the largest city in the country by either 1800 or 1810, depending on whether one counts Philadelphia's suburbs in its total.[39]

TABLE 1.2

NEW YORK CITY'S POPULATION, 1790 to 1840

Year	Population	Percentage Increase
1790	33,131	. .
1800	60,515	82.7
1810	96,373	59.2
1820	123,706	28.3
1830	202,589	63.8
1840	312,710	54.4

Source: David T. Gilchrist, ed., The Growth of the Seaport Cities 1790-1825 (Charlottesville, Virginia: published for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation by The University Press of Virginia, 1967), Table V, p. 39.

Note: New York equals Manhattan.

The immigration which caused these increases gave the city a heterogeneity commonly noted by observers. Writing just before the War of 1812, Timothy Dwight found it almost impossible to define a common character for the city because of the number and diversity of its immigrants. When Dwight was writing most of the immigrants were coming from New York's hinterland, particularly from Connecticut and New England generally. Although native Americans, the New Englanders were distinctive, being commonly noted for their conservative character, grave temperament, and business enterprise. By Dwight's estimates New Englanders constituted more than a third of the city's population; native New Yorkers made up a third; and the rest were either from New York State and New Jersey or from foreign countries, particularly from Great Britain and Ireland. These estimates are similar to those of James Fenimore Cooper writing in the late 1820s.[40]

Dwight left out, however, an estimate of the city's blacks, who constituted 8.8 percent of the city's total population in 1820. (Their proportion declined to 6.9 percent by 1830.) In addition, using the New York State census to improve upon Dwight and Cooper, one can estimate that about 20 percent of the city's 166,086 residents in 1825 were foreign-born. This proportion had increased from approximately 16 percent in 1816. Thus looking at the whole era between 1815 and 1830, one can estimate that approximately 5 to 10 percent of the city's population was black, 20 percent was foreign-born, and 70 percent was native white American, with the latter group divided almost equally between

New Englanders and natives of the city. Comparatively small percentages came from New Jersey and other parts of New York State. Thus, significantly, before 1830 the city's work force must have been predominately native American.[41]

This situation began to change in the 1830s as both the scale and origin of immigration to the city changed dramatically. As Table 1.3 indicates, the number of immigrants arriving in New York City increased significantly in 1832 and continued throughout the decade; even greater numbers came in the 1840s. This trend was typical for the whole nation, and most of the nation's immigrants came through New York. Although, of course, most of these people did not stay in the city, the ones who did changed its social composition. The New York State census of 1845, the first one to measure the foreign-born population instead of simply the unnaturalized aliens, found that 36.3 percent of the city's 371,223 total population had been born abroad, in contrast to approximately 20 percent in 1825. Since the great majority of the male immigrants in the city were laborers and artisans, the character of the working population changed even more.[42]

Not only the scale but also the origins of the immigration shifted in the 1830s as arrivals from Germany and Ireland overshadowed all others. Starting from a relatively small 7,729 in the '20s, immigration from Germany to the United States jumped to 152,454 in the '30s. In these decades the ratio of German immigrants to British and Irish shifted from about 1:10 to 1:2. However, the Germans were

New Englanders and natives of the city. Comparatively small percentages came from New Jersey and other parts of New York State. Thus, significantly, before 1830 the city's work force must have been predominately native American.[41]

This situation began to change in the 1830s as both the scale and origin of immigration to the city changed dramatically. As Table 1.3 indicates, the number of immigrants arriving in New York City increased significantly in 1832 and continued throughout the decade; even greater numbers came in the 1840s. This trend was typical for the whole nation, and most of the nation's immigrants came through New York. Although, of course, most of these people did not stay in the city, the ones who did changed its social composition. The New York State census of 1845, the first one to measure the foreign-born population instead of simply the unnaturalized aliens, found that 36.3 percent of the city's 371,223 total population had been born abroad, in contrast to approximately 20 percent in 1825. Since the great majority of the male immigrants in the city were laborers and artisans, the character of the working population changed even more.[42]

Not only the scale but also the origins of the immigration shifted in the 1830s as arrivals from Germany and Ireland overshadowed all others. Starting from a relatively small 7,729 in the '20s, immigration from Germany to the United States jumped to 152,454 in the '30s. In these decades the ratio of German immigrants to British and Irish shifted from about 1:10 to 1:2. However, the Germans were

TABLE 1.3

ALIENS AND IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1820-1840

Year	Number	Percentage of Total U.S. Arrivals
1820[a]	3,834	37.2
1821[a]	4,038	34.7
1822[a]	4,116	48.1
1823[a]	4,247	51.4
1824[a]	4,889	50.8
1825[a]	7,662	59.6
1826[a]	6,908	49.7
1827[a]	12,602	57.9
1828[a]	19,860	65.8
1829[a]	14,814	60.4
1830[a]	13,748	55.3
1831[a]	10,737	45.0
1832[b]	35,246	57.2
1833	39,440	65.8
1834	46,053	67.8
1835	32,715	67.2
1836	58,617	72.4
1837	51,676	60.8
1838	24,935	55.2
1839	47,688	63.9
1840	60,609	65.7

Source: Allan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), Table 7.7, pp. 272, 273.

[a] Twelve-month period ending Sept. 30.

[b] Fifteen-month period ending Dec. 31, 1832.

much more likely to settle in rural areas than the Irish, who congregated in the cities. There were changes in the immigration from Britain and Ireland that were more significant for understanding the social reform of the time.[43]

Table 1.3 shows that there was a significant increase in immigrants arriving in the city during the years 1827 through 1830, although the number was not on a scale with the figures of the 1830s. Those arriving in these four years probably included an unusual number of Englishmen compared to the Irish. Table 1.4 shows that twice as many English immigrants arrived in the 1820s as in the 1830s. Seen in another perspective, the ratio of English to Irish arriving in the '20s was 1:3 compared to 1:27 in the '30s. Just as important, the immigrants of the '20s showed a greater disposition to stay in New York than in later decades; the number of immigrant arrivals approximated the growth of the

TABLE 1.4

IMMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM
TO THE UNITED STATES, 1820-1850

	England	Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Not Specified
1820-1830	15,837	170	3,180	54,338	8,302
1831-1840	7,611	185	2,667	207,381	65,347
1841-1850	32,092	1,261	3,712	780,719	229,979
Total	55,540	1,616	9,559	1,042,438	303,628

Source: Rowland Tappan Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), Table I, p. 5.

city's population in contrast to the period after 1830. In that year New York's alien population was several times larger than either Philadelphia's or Boston's, its nearest rivals. The English immigrants arriving in the late '20s included an unusual number of urban artisans driven abroad by a depression in British trade and perhaps by repression of the working class political movement in England. Before the late 1820s "probably the great majority of British emigrants had been farmers, peasants, and village craftsmen."[44] The English artisans of the late '20s brought with them social and political traditions that profoundly shaped New York's labor and reform movements.[45]

In sum, when the reform movements studied here began in the late 1820s, the most important immigrant groups in the city were the New Englanders, the English, and the Irish. Their arrival in the city had caused its unusual growth. The scale and composition of immigration in the 1830s changed dramatically as Irishmen and Germans overshadowed all other immigrants from abroad and perhaps those from New York's hinterland as well. The Irish and Germans were much more foreign to the native Americans than the English immigrants. Everyone was aware of their presence in the compact, densely-settled city.

IV

The new state constitution of 1821 brought fundamental political changes before the shift in immigration in the 1830s. The old document from 1777, "designedly one of the

UMI

least democratic of state constitutions," divided the voters into two groups based on property qualifications and allowed only the wealthier to vote for the highest offices: "Under these provisions, only about 40 percent of adult white males were eligible to vote for governor; an additional 30 percent could vote for assemblymen. This left nearly one-third of the men with no voting privileges."[46] The new constitution, in contrast, established only one class of voters restricted by only minimal requirements for free white males, although stringent property qualifications were placed on blacks. Now more than 80 percent of adult white males were able to vote for all offices, and voter participation increased dramatically. Just as important, the new constitution revitalized local politics by making many more offices elective and giving power over much of the patronage to local officials. Democracy had come to New York, although not as a result of a radical popular movement.[47]

The new constitution arose out of bitter factional conflicts in the old Republican party. It was, in fact, the admirably successful effort of the Bucktails led by Martin Van Buren to destroy the Clintonians, formed around the brilliant and aristocratic DeWitt Clinton. The constitution created a new political environment in which Van Buren and his followers built the Albany Regency, later to become the Jacksonian Democrats. They were America's first modern, mass-based political parties, in contrast to the eighteenth-century factions built around individuals and family groups. In a departure from traditional republican theory, they also justified the existence of parties and party conflict as necessary to a healthy democracy. They perceived their party as the true inheritor of the Jeffersonian legacy and the means by which the people organized and protected themselves against aristocratic factions and a resurgence of the Federalist party. Their conceptions of party discipline and unity were seen as the necessary requirements for the many to successfully compete with the few for political power. Nevertheless, during the 1820s party discipline for the Regency changed from a precondition for democratic rule to the essence of democracy itself. The party was run by professional politicians whose main goal was the preservation of the party and its power, not the accomplishment of specific ends: "There were virtually no substantive planks in regency platforms . . . ."[48] By suppressing ideology and the factionalism it generated, the Regency opened itself to charges by reformers and radical artisans of having corrupted the republican heritage. Nevertheless, the Regency still maintained immense prestige for having led the fight against the old aristocratic constitution. The fact that the new democratic order did not arise out of class conflict helped unite the classes of a turbulent era in a common political tradition.[49]

Although the Regency suffered attacks from radicals throughout the 1820s and 1830s, it maintained itself as the one unified and continuous political party in the state. In contrast, the opposition was divided: "Indeed, a major theme of New York politics from 1820 to 1837 is the effort of the opposition to form an effective coalition under adequate leadership."[50] It did not really achieve this until 1838 when leaders like William Seward and Thurlow Weed took over the Whig party. The Regency in the meantime had become the Jacksonian Democratic party in the state. Yet the Regency itself was undergoing constant change in its efforts to consolidate itself against factions and build permanent political power in an expanding and volatile electorate. The formation of modern mass-based political parties was a continual process throughout the era and not simply the immediate effect of the conflicts over the constitution of 1821. The reforms studied here existed, therefore, in a political environment of considerable fluidity in which the major parites were still developing, while minor ones formed and disappeared, and factions rose, fell, and coalesced. Thus in politics as in economics, this was a transitional era in which new social structures were gestating in the context of more traditional forms.[51]

Looking simply at the politics of this period, one might justifiably call it the "era of the common man," for previously disenfranchised and inactive elements of the electorate--free white males over twenty-one with little or no property--did enter politics and help shape the public issues of the time, if only by their presence. Edward Pessen, who is skeptical of the democratic and egalitarian pretensions of the era, states that "where rich men had comprised two-thirds of New York City's aldermen in 1826, the proportion fell to one-half for 1831 and to about three-eights in 1837."[52] Nevertheless Pessen finds that the mayor's office usually remained in the hands of two wealthy families before 1837; and the men who replaced the rich aldermen were not journeymen or laborers, the real common men of the time, but untypically prosperous individuals with more prestigious occupations. Common men like journeymen and laborers did not run the politics they influenced and were "barely visible" in local government before 1837.[53] Wealthy elites were securely in control of American cities in the Jacksonian era.[54]

Most important, Pessen has shown that the concentration of wealth characteristic of earlier periods continued unabated throughout the era. When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828, "the wealthiest 4 percent of the population, in owning almost half the wealth, possessed a larger proportion of New York City's wealth than the richest 10 per cent had evidently owned in the urban northeast as a whole half a century earlier. By 1845 the disparities had sharply increased."[55] This expansion and concentration of wealth was part of a larger social process throughout urban America: ". . . antebellum cities appear to have grown more sharply stratified with the passage of time. The increase in the wealth and complexity of cities was everywhere accompanied by the emergence of clearer social divisions and a widening of the gulf between classes."[56] Pessen concludes that "Antebellum urban society was very much a class society."[57] Despite easy fraternization in business and politics, the barriers between classes were not easily breached.[58]

Pessen's work, particularly on the rich, provides insight into the social realities behind the constant attacks by the labor movement on "aristocracy" and its encroachments. However, too close a focus on the class lines between the rich and everyone else obscures the fact that an expanding economy permitted many of the more common men to increase their wealth, and sometimes social status, relative to their previous position, although they did not gain in relation to the rich. In fact, this very kind of man was commonly among the reformers studied here. E. J. Webb, for example, a labor radical and disciple of Tom Paine, was a carpenter who became an architect in the 1830s by leaving the carpentry business to his sons while devoting his time to preaching his radical ideas and applying the design skills he had learned in his trade.[59]

The complicated social processes in New York were probably analogous to those found by Michael Katz in nineteenth-century Hamilton, Ontario, as it experienced industrialization: "On the one hand, new white-collar and managerial positions came into existence in large numbers; yet the increased social distance brought about by industrializtion and the formation of an industrial working class increased the odds against lower-class children or adults improving their position."[60] Samples of New York City's Directories do not measure the expansion of a propertyless laboring class, but they do show that the middling sectors of society grew throughout the era. The proportion of merchants and artisans declined--both groups intimately associated with the old mercantile city.

TABLE 1.5

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN NEW YORK CITY BASED ON SAMPLES OF SELECTED CITY DIRECTORIES, 1829-1840

Occupational Group	1829	1836	1840
Merchants.	10.0[a]	9.0	8.5
Professionals, clerical workers, and government officials . .	10.8	12.9	16.4
Shopkeepers and proprietors. .	17.5	23.0	27.0
Artisans	48.0	44.7	39.1
Laborers and cartmen	11.3	8.3	7.0
Other.	2.3	2.1	2.0

Source: Appendices 20, 21, 22.

[a] Numbers reflect percentages.

Even when artisan radicals like E. J. Webb took advantage of these new social opportunities they were aware of the growing social distinctions in their expanding society. These increasing distinctions, and the concentration of wealth they assumed, challenged their ideas about what a republic should be and contributed to the climate of reform. Thus their attacks on growing inequality had a real basis in the social and economic developments of the time. These same developments had a special impact on artisans, some of whom prospered mightly while most, particularly the journeymen, experienced declining wealth and status. Alan Dawley has shown how the expansion of laissez-faire capitalism affected the artisan community:

> The character of inequality changed in both kind and degree during the nineteenth century. First, the degree of separation among property owners increased as great fortunes appeared in American cities. Second, the class system of industrial capitalism undercut the household as a buffer between property owners and the propertyless and tended to make those who owned productive property and those who did not into two separate social groups.[61]

Although Dawley is describing a larger period that included the 1840s and '50s, during which these economic and social processes were more apparent, they were at work in New York in the '20s and '30s. The Jury Lists of 1819 showed, for example, that the typical journeyman did not live with his master, and the relatively advanced age of the journeymen illustrated that advancement to master status was not a foregone conclusion. New York's artisans, and particularly the journeymen, were among the first to experience the changes shaping the future of the city. The expanded democracy of the era gave disenchanted artisans the means to express their grievances, and, as part of the largest segment of the working population, they had the power to make themselves heard. Thus the city's artisans were among the most significant and volatile elements of the electorate, particularly because their tradition of egalitarian republicanism told them that their new position in society and the economy was not just.[62]

In sum, between 1825 and 1840 New York City experienced a peculiarly significant transition in its history. Specialization and expansion marked the era in commerce as New York assumed its preeminent position as America's busiest port. The artisan class became sharply divided between journeymen and the masters who, in conjunction with merchant capitalists, took advantage of new markets by producing large quantities of cheaper goods. Recently democratized by the constitution of 1821 and other reforms, the politics of the city saw the emergence of modern mass-based political parties amidst third party movements and bewildering factional infighting. At the same time, the composition of the city as a whole and the working class in particular was changing markedly as the great migrations from Ireland and Germany began in the 1830s. The immigration swelled the ranks of the laboring population at the same time that the concentration of wealth continued to accentuate the vast social distances in the city. Not yet significantly changed by industrialization, New York was experiencing its last decades as a mercantile city; and yet it also felt the beginnings of a new order through such phenomena as the growth of the permanent wage-earning class and the rapid expansion of the city northward. Amidst such contradictory and complicated change, reform groups tried to shape the kind of new society they sensed emerging.

UMI

FOOTNOTES

[1] Allan R. Pred, *The Spatial Dynamics of United States Urban Industrial Growth, 1800-1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 148-149.

[2] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 16; Pred, *Spatial Dynamics*, Table 4.3, p. 148, also p. 150; Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 175; Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1972), Table 6, p. 36.

[3] Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. 1.

[4] *Ibid*., pp. 12-15, 56-59.

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 58-59.

[6] *Ibid*., pp. 95-102; Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States 1790-1860* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 66-74, 189; Pred, *Urban Growth*, pp. 105-109, 142.

[7] John G. B. Hutchins, "Trade and Manufactures," *The Growth of the Seaport Cities 1790-1825*, ed. David T. Gilchrist (Charlottesville, Virginia: published for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation by The University Press of Virginia, 1967), p. 86.

[8] Hutchins, "General Discussion," *The Growth of the Seaport Cities*, p. 197.

[9] *Ibid*.; Hutchins, "Trade and Manufactures," *The Growth of the Seaport Cities*, p. 87; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution 1815-1860* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951), pp. 132-152.

[10] Pred, *Spatial Dynamics*, p. 143.

[11] *Ibid*., pp. 143-145. Other scholars generally agree with this periodization; David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Harold C. Syrett, Harry J. Carman, *A History of New York State* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 182-183;

UMI

Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, 78, No. 3 (June, 1973), p. 540; Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 94, 114-119.

[12] Pred, Spatial Dynamics, pp. 175-176.

[13] Ibid., pp. 168, 173; U.S., Census Office, Fourth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States in 1820; U.S., Census Office, Sixth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, as Corrected at the Department of State, in 1840, p. 115.

[14] Pred, Spatial Dynamics, pp. 152-153, 156-164, 167-168.

[15] Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 18.

[16] Ibid., pp. 15-19, 45-46.

[17] David Montgomery, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial City," Urban America in Historical Perspective, ed. Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970), p. 107.

[18] Ibid., p. 106; Stephan Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 31, 84-90; David M. Ellis, et al., A History of New York State, pp. 286-287.

[19] Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, George Atler, "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience, 1850-1880," Journal of Social History, IX, No. 2 (Winter, 1975), 241

[20] Ibid., p. 242.

[21] Dawley, p. 32.

[22] John R. Commons, David J. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, E. B. Mittelman, H. E. Hoagland, John B. Andrews, Selig Perlman, History of Labour in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), I, p. 7.

[23] Elizabeth B. Wood, "General Discussion," The Growth of Seaport Cities, p. 199; Commons, et al., I, p. 7.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp. 7-8; Dawley, pp. 25-27, 29-30.

[26] Wood, "General Discussion," The Growth of Seaport Cities, p. 199; Dorothy S. Brady, "Comment," The Growth of Seaport Cities, p. 95.

[27] Pessen, pp. 115-116; Dawley, pp. 29-30; letter from "A Tailoress" in the *Working Man's Advocate*, December 18, 1830; Wood, "General Discussion," *The Growth of Seaport Cities*, p. 199; Commons, *et al*., I, p. 8; Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837* (Stanford, California: Stanford University press, 1960), p. 79.

[28] Rock's figures exaggerate the closeness of the ages somewhat because they do not include the journeymen who were not heads of households and probably younger. Nevertheless, Rock's figures are still surprising.

[29] Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), p. 29.

[30] *Ibid*., pp. 24, 30.

[31] Pessen, p. 48.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 49.

[33] Rock, p. 46.

[34] August Baer Gold, "A History of Manufacturing in New York City, 1825-1840" (unpublished Master's essay, Department of History, Columbia University, 1932), pp. 5-12.

[35] Pred, *Spatial Dynamics*, pp. 186-187.

[36] James Fenimore Cooper, *America and the Americans* (London, 1836), as quoted in Bayard Still, *Mirror for Gotham: New York as seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 106.

[37] Paul Owen Weinbaum, "Mobs and Demagogues: The Response to Collective Violence in New York City in the Early Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Rochester, 1977), pp. 209, 212-216; Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Company, 1973), pp. 179, 244-245. Pessen documents the exclusive private circles of the rich but does not deny the public display of social egalitarianism so commonly described by observers. It is this public life that is of consequence here.

[38] Pred, *Spatial Dynamics*, pp. 208-213; Weinbaum, pp. 219-220. The approximate size of the city was calculated from Pred's map on p. 212.

[39] George Rogers Taylor, "Comment," *The Growth of the Seaport Cities*, p. 39.

UMI

[40] Timothy Dwight, Travels in New-England and New-York (London, 1823), as quoted in Rosenwaike, p. 23; Rosenwaike, pp. 22, 34; Cooper as quoted in Still, p. 105.

[41] Rosenwaike, pp. 19, 36, 39, particularly Table 6, p. 36. The approximations of the foreign-born population were arrived at by using Rosenwaike's method of doubling the alien population.

[42] Robert Ernst, Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863 (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949), Table 7, p. 187; Rosenwaike, Table 6, p. 36, Table 7, p. 39.

[43] Ernst, Table 8, p. 187; Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 60.

[44] Rowland Tappan Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 107.

[45] Ernst, Table 7, p. 187; Richard J. Twomey, "Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States 1790-1820" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Northern Illinois University, 1974), pp. 49-50; Rosenwaike, p. 35; Berthoff, p. 107; E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 711-734; see also the analysis of the Paineite leaders in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

[46] Richard P. McCormick, The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 105-106.

[47] Ibid., pp. 113-114; New York State, Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821, Assembled for the Purpose of Amending the Constitution of the State of New-York (photo reprint by Da Capo Press, 1970; Albany: printed and published by E. and E. Hosford, 1821), p. 661.

[48] Michael Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828," American Historical Review, LXXIV, No. 2 (December, 1968), p. 470.

[49] John Anthony Casais, "The New York State Constitutional Convention of 1821 and its Aftermath" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Columbia University, 1967), pp. 7-9; Wallace, American Historical Review, LXXIV, No. 2, 453-460, 468-469; Richard Hofstadter, The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 212-271.

[50] McCormick, p. 112.

[51] Ibid., p. 121; Ronald P. Formisano, "Toward a Reorientation of Jacksonian Politics: A Review of the Literature, 1959-1975," Journal of American History, LXIII, No. 1 (June, 1976), 53.

[52] Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power, p. 286.

[53] Ibid., p. 285.

[54] Ibid., pp. 284-286; Edward Pessen, "The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City: An Historical and Theoretical Inquiry," Journal of Urban History, II, No. 3 (May, 1976), 296.

[55] Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power, pp. 33-34.

[56] Pessen, Journal of Urban History, II, No. 3, 289.

[57] Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power, p. 303.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Eric Foner, Review of Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War, by Edward Pessen, Science and Society, XXXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1974-75), 490; Hugins, pp. 95, 110; chapter four of this dissertation.

[60] Michael B. Katz, "Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario," Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History, ed. Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 239-240.

[61] Dawley, pp. 61-62.

[62] Appendix 24; Rock, p. 29.

PART I. REFORM AT A TURNING POINT, 1829-30

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL PHILANTHROPISTS IN A NEW AGE: THE NEW YORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY AND THE FIRST PETITION CAMPAIGN AGAINST SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The evangelical abolitionists of the 1830s have justifiably received considerable scholarly attention, but this work often sees its subject in a narrow perspective by not adequately analyzing the previous history of the antislavery movement. The evangelicals are commonly credited, for example, with initiating the first national petition campaign against slavery. Yet of all the petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia from New York City, the largest one before 1840 was submitted by the New York Manumission Society, not by the evangelicals. The Manumission Society's petition from 1829 had over 1400 signers and was part of a national effort by gradual emancipationists led by the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery and the Promotion of the Negro Race. Stimulating several hundred petitions, with thousands of signers, the antislavery campaign resulted in a resolution of the House of Representatives on January 9, 1829, directing the Committee on the District of Columbia to "inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery within the District . . . ."[1] The Committee reported against gradual abolition, and the societies behind the project withdrew from leadership of the antislavery movement. Both the New York Manumission Society and the American Convention disbanded in the next two decades. A review of the two societies, their gradualist programs, and their petition campaign helps one understand the nature of traditional philanthropy originating in the eighteenth century and the new social and political world of the 1830s in which it was no longer relevant.[2]

The New York Manumission Society was founded in 1785 by such eminent figures as Governor George Clinton, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, as well as by lesser but prominent New Yorkers, a significant proportion of them Quakers. The Manumission Society was the main force behind a series of laws that gradually abolished slavery in New York State by 1827. It also supported a school for free blacks. Led in the 1820s by Cadwallader D. Colden, a former mayor from a prestigious New York family, the Manumission Society was still distinguished in its membership. In a list of its leaders and members from the years 1827 through 1830, for example, 61 percent were merchants and professionals, with the majority of the latter composed of lawyers. Peter A. Jay, eldest child of John Jay and a lawyer himself, continued his family's support of the group. Equally important, the evangelical reformers led by the Tappan brothers did not belong to the Manumission Society. Only one of the Tappans' eighty fellow evangelicals who founded the New York City

Tract Society in 1827 also belonged to the Manumission Society. Caroll-Smigh Rosenberg considers the Tract Society the first of the city's new breed of evangelical mission societies that became so prominent in the 1830s. Like the members of the Manumission Society, the evangelicals were also prominent; but they were not so much a part of the traditional elite of the city.[3]

A wealthy elite, according to Edward Pessen, dominated all aspects of urban life in antebellum America from the economy and the government to the manifold philanthropic societies. Composed mostly of merchants, the members of New York City's elite moved easily from one institution of power to another, particularly through the 1820s. M. J. Heale describes them well: "Patricians, pious and patriotic, the city fathers sat on the common council, patronized the arts, sponsored economic enterprises, attended fashionable churches, and fostered a variety of benevolent and reform schemes."[4] There was hardly any distinction between public and private offices, and the members of the elite accepted civic duties of all kinds as a "natural extension of their right to govern."[5] These men regarded "the public weal as indivisible and best protected by patriotic citizens, like themselves, who governed for the good of the whole."[6] Their humanitarian activity was not an effort to regain lost authority, for they were still in control of the city's affairs. Philanthropy was a consequence of their social position. Although the city fathers were religious men, their humanitarian efforts fit more into their secular conception of orderly progress which permitted them to back a variety of causes from the Erie Canal to the arts with equal enthusiasm. According to Heale, "As an enlightenment élite, they combined an essentially static conception of the social structure--in which they assumed the survival of their own prerogatives--with a dynamic conception of the forward rush of civilization, by which the whole community was constantly being elevated by the spread of Christianity and the advance of science. Such confidence was possible for the leaders of the integrated communities of the early republic."[7] The abolitionist movement of the 1830s was one of the most serious challenges to this closely-knit order; the pervasive power of New York's homogeneous elite did not survive the next two decades, even though its wealth increased.[8]

Led by the city's elite, the New York Manumission Society was also part of a whole movement for gradual emancipation originating in the eighteenth century. This movement was typified by the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, a loose coalition of antislavery groups formed in 1794 by the New York Manumission Society and the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, based in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania society provided most of the leadership for the Convention, and it usually met in Philadelphia. The New York and Pennsylvania societies were the mainstay of the American Convention until its dissolution in 1838. At its biennial and sometimes annual meetings the Convention made no binding decisions but was rather a forum for sharing opinions and encouragement. Overall, about half the societies attending were from the North and most of the rest were from the border states, but attendance varied considerably. Although as many as twenty-nine societies attended in 1795 the Convention suffered a decline in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1803 and 1825 no southern society attended except one from Delaware, leading to demoralization in the movement. But the New Yorkers remained confident, perhaps because their work for gradual emancipation in their state was proving successful. The fortunes of the Convention picked up in the 1820s, however, after the Missouri Compromise reopened the slavery question in the nation. A few societies from border states started to appear at the meetings, and in the later '20s societies from Delaware, Tennessee, Maryland, North Carolina, Washington D.C., and Virginia regularly attended. This growth in southern participation led the American Convention and later historians to think that there was a burgeoning antislavery movement in the upper South in the '20s. Gordon E. Finnie has recently shown that this was not the case, and the American Convention learned it by direct experience. Before its defeat, however, the Convention mounted the last sustained effort of gradual emancipation in the United States.[9]

Gradual emancipation was the only significant antislavery program before the 1830s. Gradualism expressed the high status and enlightenment heritage of the antislavery leaders. Advocating patience and perseverance, one eminent

New Yorker of the time wrote, "'The light with which Providence has been pleased to enlighten the minds of men, as it regards moral or religious truths, is gradual--as was the commencement of the abolition of slavery.'"[10] He must have had in mind its slow elimination in New York, a triumph of orderly progress to gradualists. According to David Brion Davis gradualism was the "hallmark" of the eighteenth-century liberal mind which "tended to assume a detached, contemplative view of history, and showed considerable fear of sudden changes or precipitous action that might break the delicate balance of natural and historical forces."[11] Confident that they understood the workings of society, gradualists thought they could accomplish reform without infringing on any legitimate interests, particularly private property, the mainstay of liberty and republican society. The New York Manumission Society, for example, could justifiably be confident as leaders like John Jay worked through their intimate contacts within the state's political and legal hierarchy to accomplish incremental change. One obstacle less amenable to such methods was the condition of blacks themselves, whom the gradualists wanted to uplift from perverse habits as well as abject poverty. Thus both the Manumission Society and the American Convention promoted projects like schools for free blacks. Gradual emancipation was therefore primarily a program for slowly dismantling slavery and uplifting blacks without disturbing the social order. Its models were the abolition of slavery in New York and Pennsylvania.[12]

Stirred by renewed public discussion of the slavery question in the '20s, the American Convention sought to build a national movement for gradual emancipation. The Missouri Compromise not only raised the question of slavery in the nation but also led to the fear in some antislavery circles that the institution was becoming stronger and even expanding into the Southwest. In addition, a contest was developing in Illinois over legalizing slavery there. Under the initiative of Benjamin Lundy the American Convention took a more forceful position for emancipation than ever before. Previously it had left specific programs to its constituent societies; but in 1821 it proposed its own, including plans for educating the slaves which would certainly be opposed by the slaveholders it had previously been so careful not to antagonize. The Convention rejected immediate emancipation because the blacks were not prepared for participation in free society. Instead the slaves would live under a period of "tutelage" before emancipation during which they would be paid for working on the master's land; in turn, the master would provide for their needs out of their wages.[13] In addition, arbitrary punishment and the interstate slave trade were to be eliminated, while slave children would be educated. The Convention considered its plan of 1821 simple and proven by precedent in the experience of British Caribbean planters.[14]

The mid '20s gave the Convention reason for hope. In 1824 antislavery won at the polls in Illinois; the Ohio and New Jersey legislatures passed resolutions in favor of abolishing slavery by national legislation; and John Quincy Adams was elected President, the first northerner since his father's term. More important, antislavery sentiment appeared to be growing in the South. It was in part a consequence of the low value of land and slaves in the upper South, whose well-worn soils could not compete with the newly opened lands of the Southwest; in addition, some feared an excess of black labor. In 1827 the Convention made an estimate of the antislavery movement in the United States which is summarized in Table 2.1. The great majority of these southern societies were not affiliated with the Convention, but they offered a tempting constituency to which the Convention tried to appeal. They were, in fact, the main reason why the Convention adopted a moderate colonization program in the late '20s after vigorously opposing it previously. In 1821, for example, the Convention noted that colonization had repeatedly been rejected by previous meetings and then rejected it again as "incompatible with the principles of our government, and with the temporal and spiritual interests of the blacks."[15] Its change as well as its relation to the southern societies is illuminated by the distinctions of Gordon E. Finnie in his study of antislavery in the South.[16]

Finnie asks historians to clearly distinguish "between Southerners who were genuinely opposed to the principle of slavery itself and those who were opposed only to the adverse effects white men had to endure when slavery was not properly controlled."[17] The latter were "deportationists," and they led the colonizationist movement in the South after the

TABLE 2.1

ANTISLAVERY SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1827 LISTED BY STATE AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS

State	Number of Societies	Number of Members
Southern States		
North Carolina	50	3000
Tennessee	25	1000
Maryland	11	500
Virginia	8	250
Kentucky	3	200
District of Columbia	2	100
Delaware	2	75
Total	101	5125
Northern States		
New York and Pennsylvania	16	900
Massachusetts and Rhode Island	4	300
Ohio	4	300
Total	24	1500

Source: A report of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery and the Elevation of the African Race meeting in its 20th Biennial Session in Philadelphia in October, 1827, as quoted in the New York Observer, October 20, 1827.

Note: The report made no distinction between antislavery societies and colonization societies. The even membership figures probably indicate that they were rounded off or estimated. Pennsylvania was divided into an eastern section with four antislavery societies and a total of 400 members; but this section was also combined with New York. Western Pennsylvania was listed separately with twelve societies and 500 members. All of Pennsylvania and New York are combined in the above Table.

formation of the American Colonization Society in 1817.[18] Thus the majority of the colonizationists viewed deportation as a means of eliminating the troublesome blacks in order to

UMI

make the institution of slavery stronger. On the other hand, there was also a group of those genuinely opposed to slavery who advocated colonization as a means for completely abolishing it in the United States. Other genuine abolitionists were against colonization because they thought that blacks could be integrated into American life. Although the new southern antislavery societies were largely for "deportation," the American Convention tried to appeal to them with a colonization proposal designed to ultimately abolish slavery. Its mistaken perception was understandable since before the formation of the American Colonization Society the southern antislavery movement had been led by gradualists genuinely opposed to slavery, but this movement had practically died out by the '20s. The Convention thought the old movement had revived, when, in fact, a new one had replaced it.[19]

In 1826 William L. Stone of the New York Manumission Society proposed to the Convention a general emancipation scheme which included a modest, voluntary colonization plan along with the usual proposals for legalizing slave marriages, prohibiting the separation of slave families, and the education of slave children. Stone was the editor of the Commercial Advertiser and a future leader of colonization in New York City as well as one of the most vocal anti-abolitionists of the mid 1830s. Generally the New York Manumission Society was more inclined to favor colonization schemes than its fellow Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. In 1826 the American Convention did pass a resolution asking the federal government to appropriate money for the removal of any freedmen who voluntarily chose to leave. The Convention also asked that the blacks be able to select their future home. By the Convention's last full session in 1829 the proposal had become more elaborate, since the Convention advocated colonizing the increase in the whole black population of the slave states, including slaves and free blacks. The Convention reasoned that voluntary emancipation was still the most likely means of granting freedom to the slaves; but state laws and fears of free blacks frustrated this method. In addition, it saw no likelihood of state legislation against slavery until whites were a majority of the population. Thus it advocated colonizing the increase in the slave population so that, over time, confident white majorities in the slave states might ultimately intervene and abolish the institution. As a means for emancipating the great majority of slaves still in the United States, the Convention's colonization proposal was a tenuous compromise between its old position and new policies designed largely to win favor with the new southern constituency. It was a classic expression of the gradualist frame of mind which trusted finely-tuned social adjustments to achieve emancipation in the long-run. But it was neither practical nor appealing to the southern constituency.[20]

The South's negative reaction to the Convention's whole approach was evident in its rejection of its petition campaign against slavery in the District of Columbia, which was part of the Convention's larger program for gradual emancipation. In 1827, for example, buoyed by the apparent growth of antislavery societies in the country, the Convention encouraged its fellow organizations to press on to their common goal, "the complete and final abolition of slavery within the United States."[21] It went on to recommend that antislavery societies distribute tracts, instruct the slaves in religion, educate slave children, and petition Congress and their own state legislatures against slavery in the District, as well as against the interstate slave trade and the introduction of more slaves into the territory of Florida. It also urged the elevation of free blacks through education, manual training, and religious instruction. The petition campaign was the most significant proposal, however, because it required the exercise of political pressure on state legislatures and the Congress. The other recommendations involved more traditional philanthropy. The Convention itself had sent memorials to Congress against slavery in the District as early as 1818, but it asked its fellow societies to do the same only in the mid '20s. The campaign resulted in hundreds of petitions and thousands of signers, but they were overwhelmingly from the North. At the climax of the effort in 1829, only 6 percent of the total 9,575 signers were from the South. The effort to build a truly national gradual emancipation movement had failed.[22]

Of all New York's signers in 1829 almost three-fourths were from the Manumission Society's huge petition with over 1400 names. The society itself was practically the whole antislavery movement in the state before 1830. The era of antislavery agitation based in New York's rural "burned-over district" had not yet begun. The petition campaign came at a critical point in the Manumission Society's history when it was fundamentally redefining its goals and programs. With the end of slavery in New York State on July 4, 1827, the principal object of the society had been achieved and its activities "materially lessened."[23] Immediately after emancipation in New York the Manumission Society was primarily involved in operating the African Free Schools and in defending blacks in court, particularly in fugitive slave cases. Yet the society was anxious to aid in the abolition of slavery in the rest of the country and, in its report to the American Convention of 1827, speculated on the problems facing the movement:

> Daily experience convinces us, that under the popular forms of government, adopted in the United States, we have no right to expect, . . . that legislative bodies will pass laws proposing any important changes in existing establishments or habits . . . unless their propriety be first indicated by public sentiment. To correct this sentiment, therefore, on the right of holding human beings in slavery . . . should, it is believed, form the principle /sic/ business of societies represented in the Convention.[24]

When it spoke of the necessity of changing public sentiment, or public opinion, the Manumission Society was expressing the basic situation of reformers in the antebellum era. With improvements in transportation and communication, particularly with the expansion of the press, a definable public opinion became part of the nation's political life. All reformers including the Manumission Society, evangelical Sabbatarians, and immediate abolitionists of the 1820s tried to shape this opinion as a means of influencing the government, even though they did not work through political parties. Ironically, the Manumission Society, which had proven so adept at manipulating the old political system from within, was ill equipped for the agitation necessary to shape public sentiment. Its petition campaign was its most significant and last attempt to do so.[25]

The Manumission Society advocated several means for changing public opinion about slavery. In its address to the Convention in 1827 it suggested the publication of facts and arguments against slavery but continued to search for more specific projects. In 1828, for example, it told the American Convention that the education of black children "will do more to advance the cause of universal emancipation than all other means put together," mainly because it would counteract "prejudice against color" by showing the achievements of which blacks were capable.[26] Education was the "philosopher's stone, which will turn the baser metals into gold," and the Society suggested that other groups in the Convention pursue the subject.[27] Yet, in 1829 the Society adopted another means of changing public opinion as well--the petition campaign against slavery in the District of Columbia. These two means of changing public sentiment--education for blacks and political agitation through petitions--involved fundmental choices about the nature and purposes of the Society. The first was part of traditional philanthropy; the second looked forward to the reforms of the 1830s.[28]

The minutes of the Manumission Society for

January 13, 1829, reported that the "Committee on the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia," chaired by William L. Stone, requested the members of the Society to have their petitions ready with signatures by the next meeting.[29] Stone's committee noted that the time was propitious since the resolution for gradual abolition had been formally introduced in the House; the committee also planned to petition the New York legislature to use its influence on the subject. The Society's efforts resulted in two petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, one with 41 signers and the other with 1462. Both petitions had the same printed statement at the beginning stressing Congress's power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the inconsistency of slavery with both the "spirit of the Constitution," particularly its promise to "secure the blessings of liberty" to the American people, and with "the great principles of republicanism, and equal rights." The petitions asked Congress to devise a plan to abolish slavery in the District, although they acknowledged that it had no right to interfere with slavery where it existed under state law.[30]

Unlike the membership of the New York Manumission Society, which was dominated by merchants and professionals, the people who signed these antislavery petitions were largely artisans and shopkeepers. Table 2.2 summarizes information on the occupations of all legible signers whose occupations could be found in the New York City Directories. The large petition is, of course, much more significant, although the occupational breakdown on the small one follows it in general outline. Artisans constituted the largest group of signers of the major petition. Together the shopkeepers and proprietors plus the artisans comprised almost 70 percent of its total signers. In general, the table shows that, although composed mostly of merchants and professionals, the Manumission Society was able to appeal to shopkeepers and artisans when it went out into the city looking for support.

TABLE 2.2

OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISON: TWO ANTISLAVERY PETITIONS FROM 1829 AND A SAMPLE OF THE 1829 DIRECTORY OF NEW YORK CITY

	1829 Petition		1829 Petition		Sample '29 Directory	
Total signers	1462		41		. .	
Occupational Comparison						
Category	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Merchants	12.8	87	9.5	2	10.	77
Professionals, etc.	11.1	75	23.8	5	10.8	83
Shopkeepers, etc.	31.3	212	9.5	2	17.5	134
Artisans	38.1	258	57.1	12	48.	368
Laborers, etc.	4.9	33	. . .	. .	11.3	87
Other	1.9	13	. . .	. .	2.3	18
Total	100.1	678	99.9	21	99.9	767

Source: Appendices 5, 6, 20.

Note: The full names of the occupational categories are merchants; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials; shopkeepers and proprietors; artisans; laborers and cartmen; and other.

The leather and printing trades stood out among the artisan signers of the large petition. The leather trades, for example, not only led the crafts in the petition but were over represented by almost three times compared to the sample of the 1829 Directory. Likewise the printing trades were overrepresented by more than three times in comparison to the Directory. Both trade groups had a reputation for political radicalism, and the printers supplied the intellectuals of the artisan class. Walter Hugins, for example, found that printers were unusually prominent among the leaders of the Workingmen's movement in New York; and the shoemakers were one of the largest occupational groups among the more common followers. Significantly, therefore, shoemakers were

TABLE 2.3

TRADE GROUP COMPARISON OF ARTISANS: 1829
ANTISLAVERY PETITION WITH 1462 SIGNERS
AND THE SAMPLE OF THE 1829
NEW YORK CITY DIRECTORY

Trade Groups	1829 Petition		Sample '29 Directory	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Leather	21.7	56	8.7	32
Building.	19.4	50	27.4	101
Clothing.	15.5	40	12.8	47
Printing.	9.7	25	3.0	11
Metal	5.	13	6.3	23
Furniture	4.3	11	9.0	33
Food.	3.9	10	7.3	27
Shipbuilding.	2.7	7	8.7	32
Other	17.8	46	16.8	62
Total	100.	258	100.	368

Source: Appendices 5 and 20.

the largest occupation among the men signing the petition on Hugins' list of 850 Workingmen.[31] The shoemakers and the printers also had two of the oldest mutual benefit societies in the city, and both trades were divided by strong unrest among journeymen. Thus the two trades might have been affected more by the antislavery sentiments of radical artisan culture than their fellow workers. The ideas of Robert Owen and Tom Paine were influential among radical artisans, and both men were opposed to slavery. Most important, slavery contradicted the central ideals of this radical radical republican tradition--independence, democracy, equality, and liberty.[32]

The point is not that Workingmen constituted most of the artisans who signed the petition, for they certainly did not. They did not even equal most of the shoemakers and printers, although they help explain their unusual representation. Rather the artisan radicals help illustrate the heterogeneity of the antislavery constituency in New York City well before the evangelical abolitionist movement of the 1830s. The twenty-six signers who belonged to the Manumission Society also exemplified its diversity.[33] Members of the elite, they had a history of involvement in gradual emancipation and kept their antislavery opinions in the 1830s, even when they did not particularly agree with the style and tactics of evangelical abolitionists who dominated the cause. In fact, they could even look on the evangelicals as latecomers who in the late '20s were more interested in fighting intemperance, preserving the Sabbath and distributing tracts.[34] The evangelical leaders, like the Tappan brothers who were famous for supporting abolition in the 1830s, did not sign the large petition, instead leaving the antislavery cause to the old and established Manumission Society. Although the Manumission Society soon left the field, it had helped develop a heterogeneous antislavery constituency in New York City which the evangelicals would later have to take into account.

After the House Committee on the District of Columbia rejected gradual abolition in January, 1829, the New York Manumission Society moved wholeheartedly into traditional philanthropy. The society's committee on petitions disbanded in November, 1829, finding its mission successfully completed since petitions were submitted to Congress and the New York legislature. The next time the Society considered petitioning Congress was in January, 1838, when it appointed a committee to make recommendations on slavery in the District and on the "gag" rule in the House which immediately tabled all antislavery petitions. On February 12, 1838, the resolutions of this committee were rejected "after considerable discussion"; and nothing more was heard of the issue.[35] The society had long since devoted its energies to its African free schools, a House of Refuge for black juvenile delinquents, and an orphanage for black children. If it still wanted to change public opinion about slavery and race it apparently would do it through the examples of black achievement. In 1834 it turned its schools over to the Public School Society but continued its interest in the education of young blacks. As if

UMI

to symbolize its sometimes forlorn search for new projects consistent with its philanthropic policies, the society provided money to the Public School Society in 1838 for the expansion of the facilities for black students; but the School Society returned the money saying that it already had adequate space for this purpose. The New York Manumission Society disbanded in 1849.[36]

The American Convention did not last as long. In 1838 its remaining funds of $1000 were divided between the New York Manumission Society and the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, a decision reflecting the basic strength of the convention. The New York and Pennsylvania societies had founded it and sustained it throughout its history. Inspired by the apparent growth of southern antislavery sentiment in the '20s, the convention had tried to build a national movement for gradual emancipation but failed, as the unpopularity of its petitions in the South demonstrated. It had failed even before the Nullification Crisis, the Nat Turner rebellion, and the Virginia debate on slavery ended discussion of the matter in the South. Emancipation would not take place there as it had in the North.[37]

The fate of the New York Manumission Society and the American Convention illustrate the failure of gradualism in dealing with American slavery. As the evangelical abolitionists of the '30s said, they dreamed of incremental progress toward emancipation while the slave population quadrupled. In addition, slavery had moved into the West below the Ohio, and the Missouri Compromise had shaken the confidence of the

UMI

antislavery public. Whether advocating general emancipation or moderate colonization schemes, the gradualists represented a bygone era. George M. Fredrickson has described their predicament in his analysis of colonization: ". . . the colonizationists were in fact espousing aims and methods that were inappropriate to the voluntaristic society and laissez-faire economy that were coming into existence. The colonizationists were out of step with the political trends of the 1820s and 1830s primarily because their program required massive Federal aid and central direction . . . . [they] ended up advocating what was basically a Federalist scheme in an era when Federalism had been discredited and when the last remnants of Hamiltonianism were being overthrown."[38] Denied federal support, colonization had to rely on private philanthropy, which, however, had changed dramatically, rejecting the more conservative social ideas of traditional reform: ". . . Christian reformers were now looking beyond the corporate hierarchical society of the Federalists and Calvinists to reforms that reflected new aspirations for the liberation of the individual from the historical and institutional limitations taken for granted by conservatives."[39] The new evangelically inspired reform of the 1820s and 1830s had deep roots in revivalism which gave it an enthusiastic, egalitarian, and millennial thrust offensive to both the style of the city's elite and its vision of orderly progress.[40]

The social and political world in which the Manumission Society thrived was beginning to fracture. M. J. Heale has shown how the cohesive elite that had ruled the city through the 1820s lost its intimate and coordinated control of New York's government and philanthropic institutions in the sprawling and expansive city of the 1840s and '50s. The city's philanthropic societies in these decades focused on relieving the effects of deep and widespread poverty; but they were actually run by salaried professionals who often had had experience in evangelical mission work in the '30s, while the city's elite sat more passively on the boards of managers. Just as important, "The early comity between public and private bodies, the natural consequence of their management by the same class, had broken down."[41] Working outside the realm of political power, the reform agencies began to attack the government for its failures without the fear of hurting friends, functioning now "more as pressure groups on government and less as instruments of it."[42] Reforms of this later era included modernizing the public school system and professionalizing the police and fire department; in a heterogenous and pluralistic city, "skilled professionals were gradually being employed to replace the patrician city fathers as agents of stability."[43] Although the wealthy were still well represented in politics and philanthropy, the two were now separate spheres of activity; and new types of men had entered both. And yet these changes so evident by the 1840s and '50s had only just begun in Jacksonian New York City. The old elite resisted, and their reactions helped shape the politics and reform of the 1830s.[44]

FOOTNOTES

[1] U.S., Congress, Register of Debates in Congress, 20th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1829, V, p. 167.

[2] See Appendices 5 and 23. The information in Appendix 23 contradicts Bertram Wyatt-Brown's statement about the campaign to stop the Sunday mail in the late 1820s and early '30s: "Quakers had periodically memorialized Congress on slavery and the slave trade, but the Sabbatarians were the first to exploit it on a grand scale." Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System," Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2 (Sept., 1971), 329.

[3] Sidney I. Pomerantz, New York An American City 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 221-224; a few remnants of slavery remained until 1841; Dictionary of American Biography (21 vols.: New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), IV, pp. 287-288; for the sources of the membership lists referred to see Appendix 26; Dr. John Stearns was the individual who belonged to both the Manumission Society and the founding members of the Tract Society.

[4] M. J. Heale, "From City Fathers to Social Critics: Humanitarianism and Government in New York, 1790-1860," Journal of American History, LXIII, No. 1 (June, 1976), 29.

[5] Ibid., p. 24.

[6] Ibid., p. 26.

[7] Ibid., p. 29.

[8] Ibid., pp. 26, 29-41; Edward Pessen, "The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City: An Historical and Theoretical Inquiry," Journal of Urban History, II, No. 3 (May, 1976), 296; Brian J. Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors Upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New-York City Merchants, 1828-1844" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), pp. 190-191.

[9] T. Robert Moseley, "A History of the New-York Manumission Society, 1785-1849" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1963), pp. 283-286,

UMI

303-304, 311-312; Alice Dana Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), pp. 154-157, 192; Gordon E. Finnie, "The Antislavery Movement in the Upper South Before 1840," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXV, No. 3 (August, 1969), 319-342; Eric Foner, ed., *Nat Turner* (Great Lives Observed; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 7.

[10] Thomas Eddy as quoted in Heale, *Journal of American History*, LXIII, No. 1, 28.

[11] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 258-259; David Brion Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought," *Ante-Bellum Reform*, ed. David Brion Davis (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 142-143.

[12] Adams, p. 249; Heale, *Journal of American History*, LXIII, No. 1, 28; Davis, "Emergence of Immediatism," *Ante-Bellum Reform*, p. 143; Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 259; Moseley, pp. 102-103; *Minutes of the Twentieth Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,... 1827* (Baltimore: Benjamin Lundy, Printer, 1827), pp. 20-22.

[13] Moseley, pp. 331-332.

[14] Adams, pp. 109, 165-172; William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times: The Genesis of the Republican Party* (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1969), p. 408; Davis, "Emergence of Immediatism," *Ante-Bellum Reform*, pp. 149-150; Moseley, pp. 331-333.

[15] *Minutes of the Seventeenth Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race...1821* (Philadelphia: Atkinson & Alexander, Printers, 1821), p. 57.

[16] Birney, pp. 409, 411-412; Foner, pp. 8, 10.

[17] Finnie, *Journal of Southern History*, XXXV, No. 3, 341.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 337-339.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 334-342.

[20] Adams, p. 159; Moseley, pp. 127, 328; *Minutes of the Twenty-First Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race...1829* (Philadelphia: Thomas B. Town, Printer, 1830), pp. 28-35.

[21] *Minutes of the Twentieth Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,...1827*, p. 20.

UMI

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22; *Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race,... 1826* (Baltimore: Benjamin Lundy, Printer, 1826), p. 45; Adams, p. 185; see Appendix 23.

[23] *Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the Twentieth Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race,... 1828* (Philadelphia: Samuel Parker, Printer, 1828), p. 36.

[24] *Minutes of the Twentieth Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,...1827*, p. 33.

[25] *Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the Twentieth Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,...1828*, p. 37; Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 176-178; Eric Foner, "Politics, Ideology, and the Origins of the American Civil War," *A Nation Divided: Problems and Issues of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. George M. Fredrickson (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 19-24.

[26] *Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the Twentieth Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,...1828*, p. 37.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[28] *Minutes of the Twentieth Session of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,...1827*, p. 33.

[29] Minutes of the Manumission Society of New York, January 13, 1829.

[30] *Ibid.*; see Appendices 5 and 6.

[31] Walter Hugins graciously provided me with his list of 850 participants in the New York Workingmen's movement which he utilized in his *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class*. The twenty-seven men on this list who signed the large antislavery petition from 1829 were Andrew Bennett, William G. Boggs, Jacob J. Brinckerhoff, Joseph S. Cannon, David Carpenter, Adoniram Chandler, Thomas Dorset, David Feeks, John Haff, Ledyard H. Halsey, Charles Hunter, Joshua Hyatt, Joseph W. Lockwood, Jonathan Marshall, Thomas W. Mott, Francis Pares, Joseph Parsons, Alden Potter, Joseph H. Ray, Philo Scofield, Morgan L. Smith, Andrew Turnbull, Amos Waring, Uel West, Ambrose Wyckoff, Abraham Franklin, and Richard Weir. See Appendix 5 for the occupations of these men.

UMI

[32] Commons, *et al.*, I, p. 352; Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 56-59, 115, 123.

[33] The twenty-six members of the Manumission Society who signed the large antislavery petition from 1829 were John Bartlett, Thomas P. Bowne, Robert C. Cornell, Barney Corse, Mahlon Day, Chas. T. Cromwell, Samuel Falconer, Richard Field, Henry Haydock, Robert M. Hicks, William Hutchin, James Ketchum, Thomas Legett, Jr., Richard Mott, Jr., William F. Mott, George Newbold, Willet Seaman, William Shipley, Harvey Shotwell, William L. Stone, Peter S. Titus, Ira B. Underhill, Joshua S. Underhill, Joseph Willets, John B. Wright, John L. Embree, Israel Corse; see Appendix 5 for occupations. The list of the Manumission Society's members used in this comparison was by no means complete; see Appendix 26 for the sources of this list.

[34] For example, twenty-six men including Arthur Tappan signed a call in the *Commercial Advertiser* of October 31, 1828, asking voters in the coming election to choose officials supporting temperance. Ten of these 26 temperance advocates were also founders of the New York City Tract Society, and yet none of the 26 signed the Manumission Society's large antislavery petition with over 1400 names. Seven of these same 26 temperance men signed a Sabbatarian petition to stop the Sunday mail in 1827 with over 300 names. In addition, only four of the 80 founders of the Tract Society signed the large antislavery petition from 1829.

[35] Minutes of the Manumission Society of New York, February 12, 1838.

[36] *Ibid.*, November 10, 1829; July 8 and 15, 1834; January 2 and 25, February 12, 1838; October 8, 1839; see also 1838 inclusive.

[37] *Ibid.*, January 2, 1838.

[38] George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 25.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[40] *Address of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, to the People of the City of New-York* (New York: Printed by West & Trow, 1833), p. 4; Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, pp. 329-330; Carroll Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 4, 5, 29.

UMI

[41] Heale, *Journal of American History*, LXIII, No. 1, pp. 38-39.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

CHAPTER III

EVANGELICALS AND A NEW MORAL ORDER: THE SABBATARIAN CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE SUNDAY MAIL

I

It is startling to a modern historian that the Manumission Society's huge antislavery petition from 1829 did not create a ripple in New York City while the contemporary Sabbatarian campaign against the Sunday mail caused an uproar. Evangelicals led by Lewis Tappan, later of abolitionist fame, sought to close the post offices on Sunday and even the transportation of the mail on that day, as part of a larger campaign against all violations of the Sabbath. The New York effort was included in a national movement initiated by Lyman Beecher of Boston and other conservative evangelicals.[1] In New York the conflict over the Sunday mail helped define the party lines of the 1830s, particularly by attracting radical artisans to the Jacksonian Democrats. It also had profound implications for the transformation of New York's popular culture. The significance of the Sunday-mail dispute can be better understood in the light of recent interpretations of the Protestant ethic and the cultural changes required by industrial capitalism.

Edmund Morgan has suggested that attitudes toward the Protestant ethic have profoundly affected political divisions in America, and the ethno-cultural school of political historians supports his hypothesis. According to Morgan, the "Puritan Ethic" was the set of common values through which the American people interpreted the events of the revolutionary era. It was not confined to the puritan religion and its believers but embodied values promoted by the larger culture, including its Enlightenment political philosophy. The ethic "encouraged frugality and frowned on extravagance," while calling for "diligence in a productive calling, beneficial both to society and to the individual."[2] Its values thrived in adversity and distrusted prosperity, particularly the luxury and speculation associated with it. Since merchants were associated with prosperity and its evils they were suspect, while manufacturing was seen as promoting both sound morality and economic independence from Britain. Morgan quotes Tench Coxe's hope in 1787 that "the encouragement of manufacturing would 'lead us once more into the paths of virtue by restoring frugality and industry, those potent antidotes to the vices of mankind and will give us real independence by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury.'"[3] In addition, the values of the puritan ethic--industry, frugality, and temperance--were the essence of the "republican virtue" essential for the maintenance of a republic, according to Gordon Wood. Only with such virtues could the people preserve their liberty and sacrifice personal gain for the public good. Without them liberty would degenerate into license, popular rule into mob tyranny, and an authoritarian government would be necessary to impose order. Morgan concludes that "Patriotism and the Puritan Ethic marched hand in hand from 1764 to 1789."[4]

Although the puritan ethic was an integral part of the American republican tradition, some people subscribed to it more than others. Morgan thinks that the ethic may have given continuity to American political history since one of the nation's two parties typically identified with it more than the other. William G. McLoughlin suggests an analogous interpretation, and the works of Lee Benson and Ronald P. Formisano help substantiate it, at least for the antebellum era. According to Benson:

> . . . it seems that on all class levels--particularly the "lower-class"--and among all ethnocultural groups, Whigs were more likely than Democrats to share puritanical attitudes and to disdain the antipuritanical qualities that were esteemed on the American frontier and among urban "lower-class radicals." As conceived here, puritanical attitudes are independent of theological dreed. They connote a related set of definitions and values--piety, sobriety, propriety, thrift, "steady habits," and "book-learning."[5]

Notably, attitudes toward puritanical values, defined in this large sense, were particularly significant sources of political division among ethnic and lower-class groups. For example, the free thinkers, who were based in the urban lower classes, were the most vocal against the promoters of puritanical values like the Sabbatarians; and they overwhelmingly supported the Jacksonian Democrats, who strongly opposed the use of the state to impose moral uniformity. Most Democrats were not free thinkers, of course; but free thinkers were a

UMI

significant group, multipling "considerably after 1825" and constituting "a substantial minority of the population."[6] In general, according to Benson, the positions of the Democrats and Whigs on moral issues correlated with their larger views of the functions of the state. The Democrats defined the state's role as minimal on almost all issues, while the Whigs saw the state more as a positive instrument to suppress evil or promote internal improvements. Studying the rise of Michigan's Republican party in the 1850s, Ronald P. Formisano found a similar division between the parties on moral and religious questions, differences which prefigured their larger views of the state.[7]

Thus, the puritan ethic as a larger cultural phenomenon had an intimate connection with politics in antebellum America and was an integral part of the American republican tradition. Therefore, it is understandable how an issue like the Sunday-mail question could have broad ramifications, even though seemingly obscure, particularly in comparison to the antislavery issue. It is difficult to grasp, however, how the puritan ethic changed over time and why it affected different groups in contrasting ways. Recent work on the cultural transformations required by industrialization sheds light on these problems. Like all revolutions, the industrial revolution tried to change human nature to conform to the needs of the new order. The effort to transform the nature, habits, and culture of America's workers preceeded the full development of industrial society just as the economic preconditions of industrialization preceeded large scale mechanization. The puritan ethic embedded in American culture was one of the most useful tools of this cultural transformation, but used in a new social situation for new purposes the ethic changed its character.[8]

According to Alan Dawley and Paul Faler the old values of industry, frugality, and temperance had been part of a cultural world which industrialization broke apart:

> In preindustrial times, individualism had been incorporated into a pattern of deference to social superiors, but in the new setting individualism was alloyed with a belief in equality of opportunity. At one time industry had meant hard work; now it was redefined as devotion to a methodical work routine. Frugality was once consistent with charity; now it became associated with a definition of poverty as crime and a new stringency in poor relief. Temperance once meant moderation in drinking habits and prudent sexuality; now it was redefined as total abstinence and prudish sexuality.[9]

The goal of this transformed puritan ethic was to create a self-disciplined individual, controlled by an inner conscience, but liberated from external restraints, whether they be indentured servitude or orthodox religious doctrine. In contrast to more traditional morality, the new individual was "one who put his/her own needs ahead of the demands of kin and community, who acknowledged no master but the self, and who located the virtues of self-control, self-denial, and self-improvement at the center of the moral universe. To working people, long accustomed to servitude and other forms of personal subordination, this new individualism fomented a fundamental challenge to customary ways of living."[10] The individualistic thrust of the new ethic helped make it an innovation upon the traditional Protestant ethic. It is no wonder that the self-made man became such a pervasive nineteenth-century ideal.

Evangelical reform, as distinct from evangelical Protestantism as a whole, was the main cultural vehicle for the creation of a modern work ethic in antebellum America. The most significant evangelical reforms were interdenominational missionary efforts like the American Bible Society, the American Temperance Society, the American Home Mission Society, and the American Tract Society, all formed in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century and constituting the "benevolent empire" so prominent in the 1830s. The evangelical New School Presbyterians were the most important force behind these interdenominational reforms, although, of course, the evangelical parts of other main denominations like the Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists also joined in. The inspiration for this reform came from the mammoth revivals of the era, particularly those of the 1820s, which gave the movement a millennial, assertive, individualistic thrust uncharacteristic of the more conservative churchgoers. Likewise, lower-class evangelicals often opposed reform efforts. The basic constituency of evangelical reform in the provincial middle-class of areas like western New York gave it a tone offensive to many of the poor as well as to established urban aristocrats. The evangelical reformers were therefore distinctive within the larger religion of which they were a part; and in the early nineteenth century their interdenominational mission efforts were a decided innovation, often threatening to the objects of their benevolence.[11]

UMI

The evangelical reformers were sincerely inspired by millennial hope as well as fears for the republic's moral degeneration; but the cultural changes they initiated helped shape a modern work force. Thus, characteristically for the period, their efforts to preserve an inherited culture helped transform it, just as Jacksonians, in trying to preserve the old republic, promoted democratic and laissez-faire policies which helped undermine it. The inconsistency between the traditional goals of evangelical reform and their actual social consequences is most obvious in industrial towns like Lynn and Lowell in Massachusetts. In Lynn the Society for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance was organized in 1826 by the city's businessmen and Protestant clergy to create new forms of social control that would replace the discipline formerly provided by the master's household. The same men who served in its leadership were officers of the city's savings bank, which was designed to promote frugality in the workers: "Economic self-interest and religious ethics fused into one substance in the mind of these businessmen, ..."[12] Similarly, Lowell's industrial managers "were appropriating the Puritan ethic to the demands of the factory," while at the same time trying to revitalize "the conservative social and political implications upon which these values were originally based."[13] The industrialists wanted to inculcate deference to one's superiors as well as methodical work habits, political prudence as well as temperance. Like Tench Coxe before them, they saw their factories as instruments of moral reformation, creating solid, respectable citizens, only in a more raucous, democratic age desperately in need of social discipline. In the hands of these men the new industrial morality was freighted with social and political significance, and they appeared as both innovators and conservatives. Although they saw reform as imposing social control, the new order they helped create was not the old Federalist system but a nineteenth-century industrial town.[14]

The Sabbatarian campaign to stop the Sunday mail exemplified these cultural tensions between tradition and innovation as well as the effort to transform all popular culture along more methodical lines. While promoting Sabbath observance, evangelical reformers attacked the "immoral" use of leisure time in an attempt to suppress popular activities which perpetuated preindustrial values. Studying Philadelphia in the antebellum era, Bruce Laurie has found that advocates of the modern work ethic developed first among the city's New School Presbyterian clergy and its emerging industrialists. These men distinguished sharply between work and leisure and "regarded preindustrial culture as wasteful, frivilous and, above all, sinful."[15] For them sin was not doctrinal error, but "moral laxity" evident particularly in popular entertainments like drinking, gambling, cockfighting, bear and bull baiting, horse racing, or even picnics and circuses.[16] All these popular activities reinforced a life style antithetical to the methodical self-discipline valued by evangelical reformers. So did the irregular work routine of most preindustrial manufacturing, defined, for example, not by the machine, but the seasons of the year or the availability of raw materials shipped on a slow and inefficient transportation system. The evangelicals were not simply opposed by the lower-class, however, for some aristocrats also followed a more casual life style and sponsored some of the popular entertainments that Sabbatarians tried to suppress. In fact, some aristocrats joined a more popular following to defeat the Sabbatarians in New York City.[17]

II

New York City had witnessed Sabbatarian efforts before the Sunday-mail campaign of the late 1820s. Aroused, for example, by the increase of Sunday excursions on steam boats, the city's clergy called a public meeting in 1821 to obtain a judgment on the matter; instead of condemning the profanation of the Sabbath, however, the five thousand persons present elected General Robert Bogardus chairman and then condemned the clergy for their interference. A wealthy real estate speculator, Bogardus was active in the 1830s against evangelical efforts to convert prostitutes and promote abolition. Similar action stopped the Rev. Gardiner Spring, probably the city's leading Presbyterian clergyman, from addressing a Sabbatarian meeting in 1827: "We /he and Rev. Alexander McLeland/ forced our way through the crowd, and found ourselves in the midst of an indignant assemblage, passing resolutions requesting the ministers to mind their own business. We were marked men. The excited multitude looked daggers at us."[18] According to Spring, later Sabbatarian efforts did not amount to much until the revival of 1857. In New York City during the Jacksonian era evangelical reformers were still only an assertive minority viewed suspiciously by most of the population.[19]

New York City's Sabbatarians were particularly bothered by public entertainment and commercial activity on Sunday. One chronicler of the city's history reports that in the early 1820s the general public went to Hoboken for excursions where a public house, a shaded walk, and "the Green," a broad open area sloping down to the river, offered plesant relaxation:

> In this walk of a week-day, young people from the city would flock, and spruce beer, mead, gingerbread, and fruits could be had. On Sundays the visitors were of a different type, young men, clerks, shopmen, and young merchants, would fill the benches on the "Green," smoke, and drink lemonade and portwine sangarees . . . . So generally was the "Green" patronized on a Sunday, that it was publicly reported that Arthur Tappan offered one million dollars for the ground in order to close it up on that day.[20]

The opening of the Erie Canal increased the affronts to Sabbatarians. In 1827 the Christian Spectator noted that "our large rivers and canals swarm with sloops, steam boats, passage boats, and water craft of every name, filled with profaners of the Lord's day . . . ."[21] People in the towns along the canal served this traffic and entertained its passengers night and day seven days a week. Perceptively, the paper thought that "Among the causes of this increase /in Sabbath breaking/ are the facilities of communication both by land and water, from one part of the country to another; and the increase of a commercial enterprising spirit among our citizens."[22] By about 1828 New Yorkers generally disregarded the city ordinance that ordered chains placed across streets bounding a church to prevent the noise of passing vehicles from disturbing the service.[23]

Similar infractions throughout the nation led evangelical conservatives like Rev. Lyman Beecher of Boston to form the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath in May, 1828. Among their motives was the hope that an interdenominational movement for a righteous cause like Sabbatarianism would help restore the power of the churches over the nation's morals that appeared threatened by the disestablishment of the churches; they also wanted to counteract the fascination of the people with new distractions like mass-based political parties and their election campaigns. The issue they chose to fight on was a postal regulation of 1810 requiring postmasters to open the Post Office on Sunday if mail arrived on that day; "Sabbatarian leaders were convinced that so blatant a disregard for ancient custom would arouse a lethargic people, ..."[24] In New York City Lewis Tappan, a wealthy New Englander and future abolitionist, assumed leadership of the Sabbatarian cause, although it had begun earlier and even sent a petition to Congress in 1827. In characteristically thorough fashion Tappan set up committees in each of the city's wards to help distribute literature and pass out petitions. In addition, "Collateral with their Sabbatarian drive, the volunteers passed out copies of long-ignored tavern licensing laws and reported infractions to the authorities."[25] These aggressive new methods involved them in activities analogous to the political campaigns they disliked.[26]

Other prominent New Yorkers joined Lewis Tappan in the leadership of the Sabbatarian effort; although of different backgrounds they were united by a sense of social crisis into one common effort to spread evangelical morality. Ten men, for example, signed a call in the New York Observer of December 13, 1828, for "persons of virtuous character" to sign a petition against the Sunday mail; it was submitted to Congress in January, 1829. Three of the ten--Arthur Tappan, Richard Varick, and John D. Keese--signed the earlier petition from 1827. The ten leaders who signed the call in 1828 were Arthur Tappan (silk merchant), Elijah Pierson (merchant), John D. Keese (merchant), Peter Hawes (counselor), Peter A. Jay (counselor), Jonas Platt (counselor and member of the New England Society), John Stearns (M.D. and member of the New England Society), Joseph Smith (perhaps Joseph Mather Smith, eminent physician), Richard Varick (old Federalist and former mayor), and Thomas Stokes (merchant).[27]

Some of these men deserve special mention. Arthur Tappan, brother of Lewis, is, of course, justly famous for his abolitionist activities in the 1830s as well as for his financial support of evangelical causes in the whole "benevolent empire." A close friend of Charles G. Finney, Jonas Platt was a member of Arthur Tappan's "association of gentlemen," a group of wealthy New England-born merchants and bankers who supported evangelical causes. Federalist mayor of New York City from 1790 to 1801, Richard Varick fought in the Revolutionary War and was a founder and early president of the American Bible Society. Peter A. Jay was the eldest son of John Jay and active in the New York Manumission Society. Thomas Stokes was the grandfather of Anson Phelps Stokes, the merchant, banker, and philanthropist. A merchant in New York City, Thomas Stokes immigrated from England in 1800; there he had been one of the thirteen founding members of the London Missionary Society. In the United States he was an active supporter of the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Peace Society. Unlike the Manumission Society this group included both established New York aristocrats like Varick and Jay and evangelical newcomers from New England like the Tappans and Jonas Platt. Significantly, however, it was led by the New Englanders and fit into their whole style of reform. As revealed in the texts of the petitions they sponsored, the thought of these men shows a common sense of moral and social crisis.[28]

The common theme of the texts of the Sunday-mail petitions from New York City was best expressed by a sentence from the one of 1829: "the violations of this holy day are contrary to the laws of God, and detrimental to the physical, civil, and moral good of the people."[29] That God in the Ten Commandments demanded the keeping of the Sabbath is clear enough; the Sabbatarians saw this commandment addressed to nations as well as to individuals. One has no reason to doubt the sincerity of their religious belief. What is not so obvious is the assumed social utility of the Sabbath argued in the second part of this quotation; and yet this assumption was universal among the backers of the Sunday-mail petitions and their most common refrain. In addition, the social utility of the Sabbath provided one of their most telling arguments about why the government should promote Sabbath observance. In 1825 the New York Observer published a prize-winning essay on the subject, the culmination of which stated:

> The welfare and happiness of society, no less than the rights of conscience, render it incumbent on the government to enforce the observance of the Sabbath . . . . [without Sabbath observance] The labor of the poor would be unremitted, while its diminished value would aggravate their distress. Deprived of the knowledge [which they often get in Sunday School], they would cease to feel either the restraints or the consolations of religion; and alike debased and depraved, they would be wretched themselves, and dangerous to social order. The rich and enlightened, no longer controlled by the benevolent precepts of Christianity, would pursue their own viscious and selfish gratifications, regardless of the rights and happiness of their fellow men. Infidelity and corruption would gradually pervade every class, and our mild and free institutions, no longer supported and strengthened by the moral sense of the community, would be found incompetent to the protection of property or life, and would ultimately give place to a government of force and terror.[30]

To evangelical reformers Christianity instilled the republican virtue that was the basis of social order.

The Sabbatarians saw America as a Protestant Christian republic threatened by moral disintegration. Christian republicanism was the characteristic social vision of white evangelical Protestants in the antebellum years, according to Robert T. Handy. After the separation of church and state in America the churches did not surrender their

UMI

authority to define the nation's morals; they saw religious freedom rather as freedom for Christian advocacy by voluntary means, not for abandonment of the assumed Christian nature of American society. The force of opinion, and ultimately law, had to insure the common and essential moral basis of social life. Evangelical churches advocated, therefore, a "middle ground between secularism and sectarianism, a Protestant common denominator" which was "the idea of a Christian civilization rooted in Protestant morality."[31] Morality often became a "euphemism for civilization itself," the opposite of which was the French Revolution and the infidelity it taught.[32] This morality was the familiar set of Protestant virtues--industry, piety, literacy, honesty, thrift, and general self-discipline--and Protestants set up benchmarks of progress toward its universal application like Sabbath observance and temperance. Thus promoting Sabbath observance through the Sunday-mail campaign helped preserve and promote the Christian republic by reinforcing the religious values that held it together.[33]

The core of the Sabbatarian campaign in New York City was the submission to Congress of three petitions against the Sunday mail--one in 1827 with 337 signers, a mammoth one in 1829 with 6,287 signatures, and the final one in 1830 with 2,760 names. An analysis of the signers of the first two petitions reveals the nature and thought of the constituency to which the Sabbatarians appealed.[34] As indicated in Table 3.1, most of the signers of the first and smallest Sunday-mail petition were merchants and professionals, the kind of men who composed most of the city's philanthropic and reform groups. Notably, artisans were considerably underrepresented compared to their share of the 1829 Directory of New York City. The first petition closely reflected the elite leadership of the Sabbatarian cause. Prosperous New Englanders found it especially attractive, although some established aristocrats like Richard Varick and Peter Jay also signed.[35]

TABLE 3.1

OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISON: TWO PETITIONS AGAINST THE SUNDAY MAIL FROM 1827 AND 1829, THE LARGE ANTISLAVERY PETITION FROM 1829, AND THE SAMPLE OF THE 1829 DIRECTORY OF NEW YORK CITY

Categories	1827 Sun. Mail		1829 Sun. Mail		1829 Antislav.		Sample'29 Directory	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Merchants	39.5	77	13.3	48	12.8	87	10.	77
Prof., etc.	17.4	34	15.8	57	11.1	75	10.8	83
Shopkp.,etc.	16.9	33	23.	83	31.3	212	17.5	134
Artisans	19.5	38	38.8	140	38.1	258	48.	368
Labor., etc.	3.6	7	8.6	31	4.9	33	11.3	87
Other	3.1	6	.5	2	1.9	13	2.3	18
Total	100.	195	100.	361	100.1	678	99.9	767

Source: Appendices 3, 4, 5, 20.

Note: The full names of the occupational categories are merchants; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials; shopkeepers and proprietors; artisans; laborers and cartmen; and other.

Members of the prestigious New England Society constituted 16 percent of the professionals who signed, and additional members of the society were represented among

UMI

the merchants and shopkeepers.[36] In addition, members of the society did not represent all the New Englanders among the signers, for Arthur Tappan and Jonas Platt, both from New England, did not belong. Composed mostly of merchants and professionals, the New England Society represented the elite of the massive migration to the city from that section of the country. On December 22 of each year the society had an annual dinner in commemoration of the landing of the pilgrims, often preceeded by worship at Rev. Gardiner Spring's Brick Presbyterian Church. During the rest of the year the society aided poor New Englanders in the city with money and medical help, usually from its committee of doctors. Judging from the speeches to the annual dinners, one can say that the members of the New England Society saw the Sabbatarian campaign as a means of implanting the sober and enterprising virtues of the New England village in the city. The society also had Whig sentiments. In 1832 Daniel Webster spoke to the annual celebration and became an honorary member, while Henry Clay was invited but could not attend. In the 1830s other Whig celebrities, including William H. Seward and John Quincy Adams, attended or sent messages to the society's dinners.[37]

Nevertheless, as indicated in Table 3.1, when these elite Sabbatarians went out into the city to collect signatures for their huge petition of 1829, most of their signers were artisans and shopkeepers. The occupations of the signers of this huge Sunday-mail petition were thus analogous to those of the Manumission Society's large antislavery petition also

UMI

submitted in 1829: artisans and shopkeepers constituted a majority of both, and artisans were the largest occupational group among the signers of each. Significantly, however, the supporters of the two causes were not typically the same individuals. Only eight signers of the 1827 Sunday-mail petition also were on the large antislavery petition.[38] Only 4.7 percent of the sample of the huge Sunday-mail petition also signed the antislavery memorial. The appeal of the two reforms varied not only among individuals but also between artisan crafts, as indicated by Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2

TRADE GROUP COMPARISON OF ARTISANS: 1829 SUNDAY-MAIL PETITION, 1829 ANTISLAVERY PETITION WITH 1462 SIGNERS, AND THE SAMPLE OF THE 1829 NEW YORK CITY DIRECTORY

Trade Groups	1829 Sun. Mail		1829 Antislav.		Sample '29 Directory	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Building	29.3	41	18.6	48	27.4	101
Leather	15.	21	22.5	58	8.7	32
Furniture	10.7	15	4.7	12	9.0	33
Clothing	9.3	13	13.2	34	12.8	47
Food	7.1	10	3.9	10	7.3	27
Metal	7.1	10	5.0	13	6.3	23
Shipbuilding	5.7	8	2.7	7	8.7	32
Printing	3.6	5	9.7	25	3.0	11
Other	12.1	17	19.8	51	16.8	62
Total	99.9	140	100.1	258	100.	368

Source: Appendices 4, 5, 20.

Men in the building trades were the largest group of artisans signing the 1829 Sunday-mail memorial while the leather and printing trades were not so prominently represented as in the antislavery petition. As noted earlier, the leather and printing trades were unusually active in New York's radical artisan community, the source of the free thinkers so violently opposed to the evangelicals.[39]

Thus both the antislavery and Sunday-mail campaigns appealed to artisans and shopkeepers but to different individuals among them and, to some extent, to different crafts as well. Why were artisans and shopkeepers disposed to support the reforms? What made some back one reform and not the other? Distinguishing the different responses of artisans to the modern work ethic helps one answer these questions.

III

Studying the industrialization of Lynn, Massachusetts, Alan Dawley and Paul Fahler divide workers into three groups based on their reactions to the modern work ethic. The "traditionalists" simply rejected it, clinging to their old ways: "They patronized rum dealers, beer and cider shops, attended Jim Crow shows and circuses, and frequented the town's saloons . . . ."[40] While they might unite with labor radicals to fight for higher wages they were unlikely to join them in broad plans of social reconstruction. "Modernists," on the other hand, accepted the new code, but divided into "rebels" and "loyalists" over their reaction to the emerging laissez-faire capitalist order. The "rebels" were modernists who used both the new industrial morality and their inherited republican political values to oppose the development of modern capitalism. The rebel "was a vigorous critic of both capitalist exploitation _and_ drink, economic injustice _and_ moral degradation . . . ."[41]

In contrast, "loyalists" were modernists who "held aloof from the labor movement (or joined only in a crisis), wore their sobriety and literacy as badges of middle-class respectability, and tried to evade the issue of class conflict altogether."[42] They were "among the rank and file of the moral reform movement."[43] Loyalists accepted the conservative social and political values which the elite evangelicals and developing industrialists attached to the modern work ethic. The rebels took the ethic, using the discipline it imposed to fight their exploitation, while rejecting the associated conservative values. Thus the modern work ethic did not inherently belong to any one class, but was "a general feature of the industrial class system as a whole."[44] Loyalists were the kind of men who formed the constituency for the Sunday-mail petitions from New York. They were trying to spread orderly and temperate habits, particularly among their younger workers. In promoting Sabbatarianism they were also striving for respectability.

Respectability was practically a moral definition of citizenship. It was so important to loyalists because it defined a whole style of life followed by similar people who adopted the modern work ethic. Respectable people did not swear, for example. Sidney Pollard has described how English industrialists tried to transform the total popular culture of mill towns with elaborate systems of rewards and punishments.

In the process they attempted to suppress bad language along with drink: "This preoccupation [with swearing] might seem to today's observer to be both impertinent and irrelevant to the worker's performance, but in fact it was critical, for unless the workmen wished to become 'respectable' in the current sense, none of the other incentives would bite."[45] But most important, respectable people went to church on Sunday. The popular significance of respectability and Sabbath keeping for loyalists was expressed by Grant Thorburn, who signed the large Sunday-mail petitions of 1829 and 1830. For Thorburn respectability was like a definable elevated space from which one "fell" if he did not lead the proper moral life symbolized by attending church. Typifying everything opposed to respectability were Paineite free thinkers, ghosts from Thorburn's past.

A former nail-maker, Thorburn was a shopkeeper and Scotch immigrant who became a gadfly of the Workingmen's movement, carrying on newspaper battles with the radical artisans, especially over religion. When he arrived in America as a poor young nail maker, in the early 1790s, he was tainted with a radical past in the movement for the democratization of Parliament led by the Corresponding Societies of London. However, he soon abandoned the Paineite radicalism of this movement as he became moderately prosperous in America selling seeds and flowers. His ethnic prejudices as well as his religious views were evident in a confrontation he had with Thomas Paine when Paine returned to the United States just after the turn of the century.

According to Thorburn, as a consequence of his religious views, Paine was living at the time in drunken debauchery with "the second orders of society."[46] Thorburn said:

> "Mr. Paine, you have been in Ireland, and other Roman Catholic countries, where the common people are not allowed to read the Bible; you have been in Scotland, where every man, woman, and child has the Bible in their hands; now, if the Bible were so bad a book, they who used it most would be the worst people. In Scotland, the peasantry are intelligent, comfortable, sober, and industrious; in Ireland, they are ignorant, drunken, and live but little better than the brutes . . . . /Similarly, Thorburn said New York's prisons and almshouse were filled with Irish, not Scotch./"[47]

Unable to deny this historical fact, Paine, according to Thorburn, withdrew in silence to his bedroom to retire for the night, "leaving his friends and myself to draw our own conclusions."[48]

Rejecting religion, Paine and his followers represented the consequences of the fall from respectability for Thorburn. As told by Thorburn, for example, the life of William Carver showed the results of Sabbath breaking. When Thorburn and Carver were journeymen in the same blacksmith's shop in New York City, Carver was a staunch Baptist and happy family man, although a "great talker" and a "radical." He soon became both a devotee of "pure democracy" who was honored by "Saint Tammany" and a convert to freethought under the auspices of Elihu Palmer, the blind deist. His life quickly came apart as he hung around the street corners propagating his views. His wife died as did his children, except for two who were ungrateful degenerates; in fact, the surviving son had committed incest with the surviving daughter.

Quickly coming to financial ruin as well, Carver had to resort to begging, even from Thorburn, who lectured him on the cause of his distress--turning from religion and particularly from the Sabbath: "'William, when you left your church your children were left on the Sabbath to wander like stray sheep; having none to care for them, they soon fell in the snares of the destroyer . . . .'"[49] Having grown up in a churchgoing family, Thorburn's children were, on the other hand, models of virtue and success who would care for him in his old age. Carver admitted that Thorburn was right and went off to the almshouse, which, Thorburn reminded him, was the result of Christian benevolence.[50]

This story was a powerful moral parable to Thorburn and people like him. He told the same tale over and over again in his writings with simply another character replacing Carver, usually another hard-working mechanic who often suffered bodily injury while playing around on the Sabbath and consequently came to financial ruin. In these stories, keeping the Sabbath was the symbol for all that Thorburn valued from fearing God to material advancement, with the latter receiving more stress. He reportedly told William Cobbett in 1818 that "it was by keeping the Lord's day that I came to be a seedsman; whatever religion might do for us in the next world, it was the most profitable concern a man could follow in this."[51] The reason was simple. While the religious families went to church with minor contributions for the poor and the pew, the others "go to Hoboken with their wives and children; there is ferriage going and coming, cakes, tea, ice-cream, and may be [sic] a little brandy, just to warm the ice; a five dollar bill looks small at the close of this concern."[52] In addition, for Thorburn the Sabbath not only promoted frugality but also prepared one to begin the week refreshed and alert. In contrast, he admonished free thinkers, "The tendency of your system is to send our clerks and mechanics to the fields on Sunday, where they soon spend their money, find bad company, and contract bad habits; [they] come home at night sorely fatigued, and may be [sic] drunk; next day [they] are unable to enter on the necessary labors of the week."[53] Similarly he castigated men who left their shops or counting-houses "to look at a horse-race or bull-baiting"; ruin was sure to follow such neglect.[54] He advised instead, "When you are out on business, hurry back to your store as soon as possible. Don't stand in the street talking politics, news, or any thing [sic], except it may be something wherein your interest is concerned."[55]

To Thorburn the ideal life was that of the sober and industrious artisan who saved his money and provided independence for himself and his family. Thus he saw religion not only as a path to material advancement but also as an antidote to the luxury and dissipation which success often brought with it. Traveling in England and Scotland in the mid thirties, Thorburn saw, "Young republicans, living like sons of the nobles, . . . I knew the fathers of some of these boys forty years ago, when they were journeymen mechanics. Now that they have become rich, they send their sons to college. The boys learn to drive tandem, smoke segars, and drink champaign [sic]. . . . Better would it have been for some of these young men had their fathers never risen higher than a carrier of brick-bats."[56] Religion and the sober modest life it insured would cure such dissipation.[57] Thorburn's writings were full of descriptions of the vacuous fast lives of the rich or "best society" in contrast to the rewards of the prudent and pious journeyman mechanic.

For Thorburn religion, and Sabbath keeping in particular, were the essence of respectability which was a kind of moral territory occupied by prudent, frugal, industrious, temperate and moderately prosperous citizens. One fell from respectability by rejecting religion and the moral life, and the fall meant not only debauchery, but material ruin. Leading a respectable life had the opposite effect, bringing social acceptance and prosperity in its train. Thus religion to Thorburn was like free moral capital available by simply following its dictates. Its secret was in teaching work and living habits that made one industrious and thrifty. Like investing actual capital wisely, religion had its tangible rewards, while insuring at the same time that those rewards would not create a life style contradictory of the values and habits which made them possible. A self-made man, Thorburn was most concerned with propagating the self-discipline that guaranteed individual advancement, rather than with spreading a Christian virtue as the basis of social order. Yet his self-disciplined individualism made him a good citizen of the Christian republic as envisioned by the evangelical reformers.

UMI

Besides Thorburn, other loyalists who signed the Sunday-mail petitions worried about young journeymen. The disintegration of household production in the early nineteenth century undermined the master's home as a source of control over young artisans, and the masters searched for a replacement. Their pursuit was reflected in the character of the artisans who signed the 1827 Sunday-mail petition: almost 20 percent were members of the prestigious General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, a mutual benefit and philanthropic society composed mostly of masters. Formed in 1785 as a typical mutual benefit society to aid indigent members, widows, and orphans, it soon took on larger philanthropic and political objects, advocating, for example, protective tariffs in the 1780s to promote American manufacturing. In the early nineteenth century the society included among its members some of New York City's future industrialists. In addition, at least 30 men on Edward Pessen's list of wealth for 1828 were members of the General Society, 15 percent of Pessen's total. However, since the society had 785 members in 1833 the 30 wealthy men were a small minority.[58]

The General Society promoted a morality of self-discipline and individual advancement. From its very inception its members had "to prove their industriousness, sobriety, and integrity."[59] To promote its values the society sponsored a school for the children of its members and a library for apprentices. The society's school was founded in 1820, in part because the public schools were practically a charitable institution for the poor; in later years the school offered the opportunity for its best pupils to win scholarships to Columbia and the City University of New York. The Apprentices' Library was also founded in 1820. The committee which recommended founding the library reported that it would provide "all who are desirous of improving themselves the means by which to attain that object."[60] When the library members marched in the parade celebrating the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, they carried a white silk banner with an opened copy of the Life of Franklin on it surmounted by the Bible.[61]

In the 1820s and '30s the society's version of self-improvement had political as well as social significance. In 1829, the same year that the artisan-based Workingmen's party entered New York politics, a committee of the General Society issued a report defending the use of romances in the Apprentices' Library: the romances "are certainly less injurious to the youth, than listening to their seniors engaged for the 'Public Good' in the violent vituperation of party politics, ..."[62] Similarly the apprentice reading alone in his room was a better employee than one who hung around in "outdoor meetings" or in secluded dens of vice.[63] Such an employee would be "in a more proper state of mind on his retiring to rest, to repeat the prayers which had been taught him in his infancy, and better prepared for the next day's avocations, than if his evening had been employed in street talk with his street companions. Is not thus one of the great objects of the Library attained? . . . ."[64]

UMI

Like Sabbath observance, reading in the library would promote proper work habits. It also might save him from political activism, one of the city's vices.

Two members of the General Society who signed the 1827 Sunday-mail petition illustrate particularly well the concern of master artisans over the moral habits of journeymen and apprentices. Charles Starr, a prominent bookbinder who also signed the 1830 Sunday-mail petition, led his trade society in the Erie Canal parade. Initiated into the General Society in 1821, he was already commended by the society in 1822 for gratuitously teaching a course in English grammar to a class of apprentices. Although not on Pessen's list of wealth, he was well enough off to contribute $125 in 1832 to a fund for buying a new building to house the society's school and library. Similar to Starr, Joseph Brewster was president of the Hatters' Society when it marched in the canal parade. He was also a founding member of the New York City Tract Society organized in 1827 and among the twenty-six signers of an ad in the Commerical Advertiser of October 31, 1828, calling on voters in the coming election to choose officials supporting temperance. In the 1830s Brewster signed two petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia.[65]

In 1830 Brewster and Starr formed the Association for the Moral Improvement of Young Mechanics and began taking a survey and collecting contributions from master mechanics for an evangelical effort to improve the lives of young apprentices and journeymen. Their leaflet saw the future of mechanics in the city jeopardized by the character and habits of young artisans: "What are the moral conditions of our young mechanics? are they not greatly exposed to the temptations and vices of the city, at a period in their life when their youth and inexperience render them peculiarly liable to be ensnared and ruined? and is it not true that, while thus exposed, they have very little competent moral or religious instruction, and very few salutary restraints placed over them?"[66] Perceiving the problem as a moral one, they proposed a moral solution; they wanted to hire a special minister solely for "young mechanics" and set up a special church for their use. Their plans were even broader, however. In 1830 their association published a notice in the New York Observer signed by Brewster and Starr, announcing a course of lectures free to all "apprentices and other young mechanics" on a variety of subjects including geography, history (particularly American history), grammar, mechanics, astronomy, and other branches of natural, mental, and moral philosophy.[67]

Brewster, Starr, and Thorburn all represented "loyalists," in the terms of Dawley and Fahler, who were intensely concerned with the moral life and working habits of young artisans. They saw Sabbatarianism as one means for promoting the respectable style of life that produced orderly and dependable workers. They did not think of themselves as self-interested, of course, since an industrious, temperate and prudent life insured not only social order but also material success for its followers. In their efforts they joined old aristocrats like Richard Varick and wealthy evangelicals like the Tappans in an effort to build a Christian republic in America.

IV

Like previous Sabbatarian efforts in New York City the Sunday-mail campaign met with defeat. The national movement of which it was a part met a similar fate. In 1829 the Post Office Committee of the Senate chaired by Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky issued a strongly negative report on the Sunday-mail proposals and roundly condemned the whole Sabbatarian campaign for asking Congress to rule on a religious question, thus setting a precedent threatening to religious and ultimately civil liberty. "Extensive religious combinations," according to the report, were trying to "lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens."[68] It was necessary to immediately stop this encroachment to avoid "the catastrophe of other nations" which had succumbed to ecclesiastical domination.[69] Johnson's report became one of the basic defenses of freedom of religion and opinion in America. Indicative of the national interest in the issue, one Congressman said, "There was scarcely a country paper which now came to hand from any part of the Union, that did not contain a copy of the Report, and for the most part accompanied by the warmest commendations . . . ."[70]

The nationwide opposition to the Sabbatarians included men of all classes, from old aristocrats to lower-class evangelicals, who resented the moral impositions and pretensions of the evangelical reformers. Nevertheless, the opponents had a particularly strong lower-class constituency. In addition, according to Bertram Wyatt-Brown:

> . . . the churchgoing poor, mostly Baptists and Methodists, also objected strenuously to Presbyterian snobbery [in the Sunday-mail and other evangelical reforms]. Many of them were not yet converted to teetotalism, the support of mission societies, and other aspects of evangelical enterprise. They resented these causes, even when they were proposed by their own churchmen who were seeking to elevate their fellows to the ranks of the respectable . . . . By the early 1830s, anticlericalism reached a zenith; its source was primarily a lower-class resentment of the success and the awesome innovations of educated, eastern middle-class churchgoers in building societies and founding newspapers to spread a puritanical conformity across the land.[71]

These general resentments combined with regional fears. In the South opposition was particularly strong because southerners of all classes correctly saw the Sabbatarians as the same people who defended the Cherokee Indians in Georgia and who wanted to educate the slaves through their missionary enterprises. There was also a widespread antimission movement in the southern churches.[72]

Usually led by Jacksonian Democrats, anti-Sabbatarian rallies throughout the North expressed similar opposition. A large public meeting in New York City chaired by Preserved Fish, a wealthy leader at Tammany, condemned the Sunday-mail campaign as a threat to the republic; and Fish and John Morrison, a free thinker and follower of Tom Paine, led a committee organized by Tammany to continue the fight. Tammany had little trouble recognizing political enemies in the Sunday-mail campaign, since both Lewis Tappan and Richard Varick, both leaders of the effort, were associated with the

Antimasonic party, one of the political organizations that soon coalesced into the Whig party in New York State. Led by Tammany Hall this anti-Sabbatarian coalition combined wealthy old New Yorkers like Fish and General Robert Bogardus, another leader of the effort, with a constituency of radical free thinkers and lower-class evangelicals. Thus the Sunday-mail campaign and other evangelical reforms had social and political ramifications which helped tie these groups to the Jacksonian Democrats. The whole anti-Sabbatarian coalition persisted through the mid 1830s in opposition to other evangelical projects from the effort of the Magdalen Society to clean up the city's prostitutes to abolition itself. Jacksonians and free thinkers kept the aggressions of the "Church and State Party" before the public.[73]

Both the concern of the country and the denunciations in Johnson's report illustrate the general fear that the seemingly obscure Sunday-mail issue was really the program of a Christian party in politics. On July 4, 1827, Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, a leading Presbyterian from Philadelphia, had advocated organizing Protestant believers for political ends; composed mainly of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists, his Christian party in politics "would elect to political office only those professedly friendly to Christians and believers in divine revelation."[74] The Antimasonic party, which arose in western New York in the late '20s, appeared to be just such a party. It owed much of its inspiration to the contemporary revivals, and it attacked the Masons as "an infidel society at war with true Christianity."[75] Ely's sermon reverberated through the middle period as free thinkers and especially the Jacksonian press branded the sermon as the expression of the true sentiments of the era's evangelical mission societies. The Jacksonians were not simply engaged in normal political exaggeration. William G. McLoughlin says that during the Second Great Awakening "the evangelical Protestant denominations became a kind of national church dedicated to enforcing the moral law upon everyone in the nation either by revivalistic religion (which produced voluntary obedience) or by a majority vote of the regenerate (which compelled the obedience of the unregenerate)."[76] A united Christian political force in the nation's politics never materialized, but the evangelical effort to define the nation's morals continued. Nevertheless Johnson's report was hailed not simply for stopping the Sunday-mail petitioners but also for defeating the new Christian political combination.

The evangelicals' response to their political defeat revealed a division between radicals and moderates that persisted and widened in the 1830s, particularly in response to abolition. At the last meeting of the Sabbath Union in 1832, Lewis Tappan said that the decision to end the campaign "was not his, though he faithfully recorded that the conservatives in the leadership who were responsible had good reason to be disappointed."[77] The conservatives were men like Lyman Beecher, who in matters of reform "favored the use of quiet persuasion, conversations with leading men, and firm tugs at the levers of power."[78] In matters of tactics, anyway, Beecher would have agreed with organizations like the New York Manumission Society. In contrast, the radical evangelicals like Tappan were disgusted with the timidity of their associates on public issues and had even wanted to push the Sabbatarian movement to shut down "bakeries, abatoirs, stores, taverns, theaters, and offices as well as the docking of ships and ferries."[79] This division between radical and conservative evangelicals had theological as well as political significance. The conservatives like Beecher, for example, had opposed the more radical theological and social implications of revivalism. The division expressed the tension within American evangelical religion that William McLoughlin has defined as "a conflict between the conservative and the antinomian aspects of pietism--between those whose primary concern is to maintain perfect moral order and those whose primary concern is to attain perfect moral freedom."[80] The antinomians, of course, formed the basis of come-outer sects and radical religious reforms in the antebellum period.[81]

Nevertheless the failure of the Sabbatarian campaign also gave these two elements of evangelical Protestantism something in common--a sense of alienation from the government. A letter from a conservative to the New York Observer expressed a common sense of despair: "We have no reason to hope for any thing [sic] from our National Legislature. It is manifest that a majority of those who now compose it, have no fellowship with our views, either as to the point of duty in this matter, or as to the chief source from which we are to look for the safety, prosperity, and glory of our beloved country."[82] The letter even compared the Sabbatarians to the early Christians in Rome. The radicals shared this alienation, perhaps having sensed their isolation from political power even sooner. This heritage of alienation from a government that evangelicals felt should rule in their name was probably more important to future evangelical reform than experience in petitioning and lobbying that the Sabbatarians gained. Failure and alienation also encouraged conspiracy theories in the constituency of evangelical reform, while heightening the sense of a crisis in the nation's affairs that encouraged some to even greater assertations to avoid disaster. The fact that America was a republic added to the sense of responsibility in the crisis. Arguing against ending the campaign, the New York Observer said, for example, "The duty of petitioning on the Sabbath mail question, and on the Indian question, grows out of the fact that we are republicans. We have no right to be silent in such cases . . . ."[83] This sense of guilt and responsibility was a volatile combination, especially in people touched with the millennial hopes of the Second Great Awakening.[84]

While its defeat fostered alienation from the country's political institutions, the Sunday-mail campaign also helped both conservative and radical evangelical reformers formulate a theory of change through the alteration of public opinion.

As the letter to the New York Observer noted, "The truth is . . . that in all communities, and in free ones especially, it is to little purpose that good laws are passed, or bad laws abrogated, if there be not virtue enough in the community to sustain the execution of the wisest enactments."[85] It concluded that instead of petitions Sabbatarians should use prayer, example, and persuasion to change the public's mind: "Let us never suspend these efforts, until we shall see a predominent sentiment pervading the community in favor of honoring God's holy Sabbath. . . ."[86] Radical evangelicals may have disagreed with the letter's choice of means but not with the necessity of changing public opinion. In 1827 the New York Manumission Society had reached a similar conclusion about public opinion when discussing the prospects for gradual emancipation.[87]

Throughout the era reformers as diverse as the New York Manumission Society and the evangelical Sabbatarians were coming to see that in the new democratic age with immensely improved communications there was a definable public opinion to which the government was responsive. The existence of public opinion offered the hope for change and justified it when a common sentiment expressed itself. Thus in arguing with the Johnson report, the New York Observer said that the Sabbatarians only asked Congress "to respect the popular creed, so far at least, as not to require by law what is in direct violation of it."[88] The rule of public opinion was also a special opportunity for radical evangelicals because the necessities of agitation more closely fit their uncompromising style of thought and action than that of men like Lyman Beecher or the aristocrats of the Manumission Society. In the 1830s the abolitionist movement developed a whole school of professional agitators, and Wendell Phillips even formulated a theory of their role in shaping public affairs by molding the public mind. Most important, the rule of public opinion offered reformers the opportunity to alter American politics without entering the established parties.[89]

In conclusion, one should understand that developing public opinion was not just a political tool but an integral part of the evangelicals' vision of a Christian republic composed of right-thinking, self-disciplined individuals. Along with internal self-control and the ultimate authority of the state, public opinion helped enforce the common moral beliefs and social decorum essential to the Christian republic. The cult of respectability, for example, was a way of asserting that the opinions of the pious public should determine one's thought and social behavior. Evangelical reformers of all shades saw respectable moral behavior as the basis of social order. For example, a speaker to the New England Society criticized the puritan fathers because they punished the Quakers for heresy, thus threatening freedom of opinion, instead of for "their outrages on decorum, and their disturbance of the public peace."[90] In the nineteenth century it was moral decorum that mattered, not correct doctrine. Similarly, the Austrian Francis J. Grund observed in 1837, "The least solecism in the moral conduct of man is attributed to his want of religion, and is visited upon him as such. It is not the offence itself, but the outrage on society, which is punished. They [Americans] see in a breach of morals a direct violation of religion; and in this, an attempt to subvert the political institutions of the country."[91] Lewis Tappan said it more concisely, "He who scoffs at christianity or attempts to subvert what are deemed the foundations of the social fabrick, is considered as an enemy of the public peace."[92] Seeing the social order grounded in individual moral behavior, the Sabbatarians in the Sunday-mail campaign saw themselves as patriotically advocating the "Protestant common denominator" which was the basis of their Christian republic.[93]

This common morality was so important to evangelicals not only because republican virtue was the basis of social order but also because the new individualistic society of the era required the self-limitation of its members. The modern work ethic required a self-assertion and self-control foreign to a traditional culture of deference and servitude. The evangelical revivalism of the period undercut old theological conceptions of predestination and bondage of the will and instead challenged the individual believer to choose his salvation and exercise his freedom by helping his fellow man. The assertive self-made man who was idealized by practically the whole culture had to be restrained without limiting the free enterprise which guaranteed his economic success.[94] The necessary means had to be a common individualistic but self-limiting morality. Tocqueville called it the "principle of self-interest rightly understood" and found it of "universal

UMI

acceptance": the Americans "show with complacency how an enlightened regard for themselves constantly prompts them to assist one another and inclines them willingly to sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state."[95] This ethic "suggests daily small acts of self-denial. By itself it cannot suffice to make a man virtuous; but it disciplines a number of persons in habits of regularity, temperance, moderation, foresight, self-command . . . ."[96] These virtues were those of the self-disciplined, self-made man. He was the building-block of the Christian republic promoted in the Sunday-mail campaign. He was also a hard-working journeyman aspiring to advance himself without threatening his employers, the kind of man Brewster and Starr wanted to employ. He represented a new republican social order based on assertive but self-limiting individuals rather than on a vision of a united and equal citizenry. His individualism made a common moral code the necessary social cement of Victorian New York City.

UMI

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System," Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2 (September, 1971), 329. The immediate target of the Sabbatarians was a law of 1810 regulating the Post Office which required postmasters to keep their offices open on Sunday for the delivery of mail if a mail shipment arrived on that day.

[2] Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," American Historical Review, XXIV (1967), 7.

[3] Ibid., p. 42.

[4] Ibid., pp. 6-13, 34-43; Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp.47-75.

[5] Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (New York: Atheneum, 1967), p. 200.

[6] Ibid., pp. 192-193.

[7] Morgan, American Historical Review, XXIV (1967), 33-34; William G. McLoughlin, "Pietism and the American Character," American Quarterly, XVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), 176-178; Benson, pp. 86-109, 192-193, 196, n. #43, 200, 205-206; Ronald P. Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 102-127.

[8] Alan Dawley and Paul Faler, "Working-Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalism and Rebellion," Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4 (June, 1976), 466; John F. Kasson, Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America 1776-1900 (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976), pp. 75, 80; this dissertation, chapter one, part two.

[9] Dawley and Faler, Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4, 467.

[10] Ibid., p. 466.

UMI

[11] Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844* (A Harbinger Book; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 18; Wyatt-Brown, *Journal of American History*, LVIII, No. 2, 332-336; Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958), pp. 12, 18, 103-104.

[12] Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 36.

[13] Kasson, p. 80.

[14] Dawley and Faler, *Journal of Social History*, IX, No. 4, 467-468; Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), pp. 3-15; Dawley, pp. 35-36; Kasson, p. 80.

[15] Bruce Laurie, "'Nothing on Impulse': Life Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820-1850," *Labor History*, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1974), 350.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 344-351; Eric Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 48-52.

[17] Laurie, *Labor History*, XV, No. 3, 341-344, 350-351; Foner, p. 51; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 19-54.

[18] Gardiner Spring, *Personal Reminiscences of the Life and Times of Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, in the City of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company., 1866), II, p. 143.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144; Charles H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1897), p. 124; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), p. 68.

[20] Haswell, p. 163.

[21] *Christian Spectator* as quoted by the *New York Observer*, February 10, 1827.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Haswell, p. 74.

UMI

[24] Wyatt-Brown, Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2, 328.

[25] Ibid., p. 329.

[26] Ibid., pp. 328-329; Robert T. Handy, A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 35-38.

[27] The following men were looked up in Longworth's New York City Directory, printed in 1828: Elijah Pierson, p. 469; Peter Hawes, p. 303; Jonas Platt, p. 472; John D. Keese, p. 349; John Stearns, p. 549; on Joseph Mather Smith see The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. 16 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1929), p. 390; on John D. Keese see Brian J. Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors Upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at the New York City Merchants, 1828-1844" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), p. 243; for sources on the other men see footnote 28; for the two petitions mentioned see Appendices 3 and 4; for the source on the membership of the New England Society see Appendix 26.

[28] On Arthur Tappan, see Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan, pp. 43-44; on Jonas Platt, see Ibid., pp. 61, 73; on Richard Varick, see Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 19, pp. 226-227; on Peter A. Jay, see Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 10, p. 11; on Thomas Stokes, see Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 18, p. 66.

[29] See Appendix 4 for the reference on this petition.

[30] New York Observer, November 10, 1825.

[31] Handy, p. 39.

[32] Ibid., p. 37.

[33] Ibid., pp. 34-40, 48-51, 55-58.

[34] The third petition was not analyzed since its signers were probably similar to those in the second one. The reference for the third petition at the National Archives is HR21A-G5.3, Library of Congress Collection of House of Representatives Documents, Roller Drawer #5, referred to committee on February 15, 1830.

[35] On the constituency of philanthropic groups see this dissertation, chapter two.

[36] Six of 37 professionals were in the New England Society, 4 of 74 merchants, and 2 of 33 shopkeepers and proprietors; for the source on the membership of the New England Society see Appendix 26.

[37] In December, 1823, Vol. I of the Minutes of the New England Society in the City of New York (at the New York Historical Society) listed the names and occupations of its members initiated before December 17 of that year. The society was founded in 1807. Of the 298 members for whom an occupation was given 161 (54%) were merchants, 76 (26%) were professionals, 21 (7%) were shopkeepers and proprietors, 23 (8%) were artisans, and 17 (6%) were "gentlemen;" Commercial Advertiser, December 23, 1829, December 24, 1832, December 24, 1834; Cephas Brainerd and Eveline Warner Brainerd, ed., The New England Society Orations: Addresses, Sermons, and Poems Delivered Before The New England Society in the City of New York 1820-1885 (published for the Society; New York: The Century Co., MCMI), I, pp. 107-108, 189, 205;

[38] The eight men were George Bush, William Cairns, Robert Edwards, John G. Horton, William Kumbel, Roe Lockwood, Henry G. Ludlow, and Samuel H. Cox.

[39] See this dissertation chapter two and chapter four, part two.

[40] Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," Labor History, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1974), 390.

[41] Ibid., p. 390-392, quote on 391; Dawley and Faler, Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4, 468-469.

[42] Ibid., p. 469.

[43] Faler, Labor History, XV, No. 3, 391.

[44] Dawley and Faler, Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4, 468.

[45] Sidney Pollard, "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution," The Economic History Review, XVI (1963), 267-269, quote on 269.

[46] Grant Thorburn, Life and Writings of Grant Thorburn: Prepared by Himself (New York: Edward Walker, 1852), pp. 101-103.

[47] Ibid., p. 103.

[48] Ibid; Grant Thorburn, Forty Years' Residence in America (Boston: Russell, Odiorne, & Metcalf, 1834), pp. 18-19, 72-85.

[49] Grant Thorburn, "The History of Cardeus and Carver, or the Christian and Infidel Family," Sketches from the Note-Book of Laurie Todd (New York: printed by D. Fanshaw, 1847), p. 28.

UMI

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

[51] Thorburn, *Life and Writings*, p. 192.

[52] Thorburn, *Sketches from the Note-Book*, p. 22.

[53] Thorburn, *Life and Writings*, pp. 145-146.

[54] Thorburn, *Sketches from the Note-Book*, p. 23.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 22-23, 25-26, quote on 9; Thorburn, *Life and Writings*, pp. 146-147.

[56] Grant Thorburn, *Men and Manners in Britain; or, A Bone to Gnaw for the Trollopes, Fidlers, etc.* (New York: Wiley & Long, 1834), pp. 172-173.

[57] Thorburn, *Sketches from the Note-Book*, pp. 8, 26; Thorburn, *Life and Writings*, pp. 140-144.

[58] Dawley, pp. 35-36; Sidney I. Pomerantz, *New York An American City 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 213-215; Thomas Earle and Charles T. Congdon, ed., *Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, From 1785-1880* (New York: Published by order of the Society, 1882), pp. 9, 12-13; *History of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York: Romance and Realism of a Great Achievement 1785-1932* (published by the Mechanics Institute, 20 W. 44th St.), pp. 2-3, 9; Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973), pp. 320-322; *The Charter and By-Laws of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in the City of New-York* (published by order of the Society; New York: printed by Edwin B. Clayton, 1833), pp. 37-56; the artisans who signed the 1827 Sunday-mail petition who were also members of the General Society were Charles Starr, Joseph Brewster, Daniel Fanshaw, William F. Phyfe, William Mandeville, William Kumbel, John Westfield.

[59] *History of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen*, p. 2.

[60] Earle and Congdon, ed., p. 281.

[61] Cadwallader D. Colden, "Appendix, Containing an Account of the Commemoration of the Completion of the Erie Canal, by the Corporation of the City of New York," *Memoir, Prepared at the Request of a Committee of the Common Council of the City of New York, and Presented to the Mayor of the City, at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals* (printed by order of the Corporation of New York; New York: W. A. Davis, 1825), pp. 254-255; *History of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen*, pp. 7-9.

[62] General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, Report of the Library and School Committees (New York: William A. Mercein, Printer, 1829), p. 11.

[63] Ibid., pp. 4-5, 9.

[64] Ibid., p. 9.

[65] Colden, pp. 224, 254-55; Earle and Congdon, ed., pp. 69, 83-84; see Appendices 7 and 10.

[66] Working Man's Advocate, February 20, 1830.

[67] New York Observer, January 16, 1830.

[68] U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 20th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1829, Senate Documents 1-13, 5-79, Vol. I, Report No. 46, p. 2.

[69] Ibid.

[70] New York Observer, February 14, 1829; Wyatt-Brown, Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2, 335; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1945), pp. 139-140, 354.

[71] Wyatt-Brown, Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2, 334.

[72] Ibid., pp. 336-337.

[73] Ibid.; Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan, pp. 67-69; Benson, pp. 19, 193-194; The Anti-Masonic Review, and Monthly Magazine, I, No. 3, p. 100, No. 6, p. 165, No. 8, p. 257.

[74] Albert Post, Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 213.

[75] Benson, pp. 193-194, quote on 193.

[76] McLoughlin, American Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, 168.

[77] Wyatt-Brown, Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2, 337.

[78] Ibid., p. 330.

[79] Ibid., pp. 330, 338, quote on 330.

[80] McLoughlin, American Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, 165; John L. Thomas makes a similar point as McLoughlin in his "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," American Quarterly, XVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965), 657-660, 662.

UMI

[81] Barnes, pp. 3-12.

[82] New York Observer, February 5, 1831.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Wyatt-Brown, Journal of American History, LVIII, No. 2, 338-339.

[85] New York Observer, February 5, 1831.

[86] Ibid.

[87] See this dissertation, chapter two.

[88] New York Observer, April 3, 1830.

[89] Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 176-178; Eric Foner, "Politics, Ideology, and the Origins of the American Civil War," A Nation Divided: Problems and Issues of the Civil War and Reconstruction, ed. George M. Fredrickson (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1975), pp. 19-24.

[90] Brainerd and Brainerd, ed., I, pp. 194-195.

[91] Francis J. Grund as quoted in Handy, p. 37.

[92] Lewis Tappan as quoted in Charles C. Cole, Jr., The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists 1826-1860 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), p. 16.

[93] Handy, p. 39.

[94] For a typical example of the cult of the self-made man see the account of Roger Sherman in the New York Observer, July 19, 1828.

[95] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), I, p. 130.

[96] Ibid., p. 131.

CHAPTER IV

ARTISANS AND THE DECLINE OF THE REPUBLIC: THE JACOBIN TRADITION AND THE NEW YORK WORKINGMEN'S PARTY

I

The expansive laissez-faire capitalism of the 1820s and 1830s created more wealth than ever before in urban America; but it concentrated disproportionately in the upper classes, leading to greater social distinctions. The extraordinary growth of the urban population made these distinctions even more apparent as immigrants swelled the ranks of the propertyless laboring class. Journeymen began to feel that they were joining this class too as their wages failed to keep up with living costs and the path to master status became more difficult than ever. And yet the masters were losing their independent status as they became merely contractors for the large quantities of goods ordered by merchant capitalists. To make a profit on his contract the master began to "sweat" more work out of his journeymen and hire as much cheap unskilled labor as possible. Both actions undercut the traditions and integrity of the artisan crafts. The same processes undermined the master's household both as a center of production and as a means of social and labor discipline for younger artisans. In addition, the expanded democracy and fluid politics of the era brought widespread grievances to public attention and caused general uncertainty about political order. The social cohesion of urban society appeared weak, especially for people who valued the republican ideal of an equal and homogeneous people.[1]

All these developments created a cultural and political crisis in the urban artisan communities and in the society at large. Elements of all classes and all parties felt that the existence of the American republic was at stake. The revolutionary generation was no longer available to guide affairs, a fact brought home to the public by the deaths of Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826. Conspiracy theories, third parties, factions, and reforms all flourished, each with its own explanation of the decline of the republic. Sabbatarians responded by trying to impose a Christian moral discipline on the seemingly disintegrating society. In New York City some master artisans seized on this evangelical cause in an effort to control the "young mechanics" whom they hired. "Loyalist" artisans like these men accepted the modern work ethic as well as conservative politics; they helped fill the pages of the city's Sunday-mail petitions. While no less industrious and frugal, the "rebels" in the artisan community used their Jacobin political heritage to try to stop the republic's decline. The Workingmen's party of 1829-30 was the most significant result of their efforts.[2]

There is no better introduction to the rebel artisans' Jacobin culture or to the general crisis of the artisan community than a conflict which pitted Charles Starr and

Joseph Brewster against George Henry Evans, the era's most important editor of New York's radical labor press. Brewster and Starr, both signers of the Sunday-mail petitions, were the prominent master artisans referred to in chapter three who organized the Association for the Moral Improvement of Young Mechanics and planned to set up a special church for their use. While taking a survey and collecting funds, Brewster and Starr walked into Evans' printing shop in the winter of 1830 and received a heated reaction to their proposal. The special church violated Evans' sense that in a republic all should be treated equally without distinctions being fostered among people:

> "Our" young mechanics, doubtless, feel the effects of the want of moral and other instruction severly; but do not the laborers of every description, who are *not* mechanics, feel such want more severly? . . . .
>
> Is it, in this *republic*, come to this: that there are certain portions of our laboring population--and these the most necessary and useful--who are not to be thought of in any plans of instruction and moral improvement, but to be placed exactly on the same footing as the *horses* and other animals which are made to minister to our necessities? Plain--far too plain--are the signs which force us to believe in the existence of that aristocratic feeling, and the thirst for money invariably accompanying it, which, under the cloak of religion, has ever kept the MANY in ignorance, and told them that it was their *unhappy lot* . . . to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," . . . .[3]

A modernist himself who accepted the discipline of the modern work ethic, Evans was no less concerned than Brewster and Starr about "plans of instruction and moral improvement"; and yet his radical republicanism led him to make a contrary proposal. Keenly aware of the privileged position of artisans in the larger working population as well as of increasing social distinctions, Evans suggested universal, state-supported, republican education: it was "the true path of 'moral improvement'--that which is wide enough for every son and daughter of a republican--without distinction of sex, class, or color."[4] Similarly, on another occasion in 1830 he said, "While we are strongly in favor of Temperance in every department of life, and would seriously recommend all to be temperate, we differ widely with the present leaders of Temperance Societies, as to the mode they are pursuing, to effect a general reformation in the habits of the population. Poverty is the cause of intemperance, crime and misery. . . ."[5] He asked if "true philanthropy (which is made the pretext for collecting money for missionary purposes) would not be better subserved, by removing the causes of poverty for the next generation. . . ."[6]

As a rebel, Evans spoke out of a radical artisan tradition that accepted the self-discipline and morality of the modern work ethic to help sustain political and union movements which opposed the development of laisses-faire capitalism. Striking journeymen bakers in 1834, for example, defended their proposal to regulate apprenticeship: ". . . the consequence of our measures will be, to exclude from employ all incompetent workmen! Clumsy, idle or intemperate hands will find no employ; boys will be under the necessity of serving their time out . . . and journeymen induced to be steady and industrious in their situations, and temperate in their habits."[7] The same artisan culture led the New York General Trades Union to propose a Mechanics' Hall in 1835 which, Ely Moore hoped, would be "a place of general resort for mechanics, where they will have a free interchange of opinions, and thereby become better acquainted with each others' conditions and interests. Not only so, but . . .the Porter House would be exchanged for the library and the lecture room."[8] Morally, but not politically, the rebel artisans were closer to their loyalist opponents than to the traditionalist workers who frequented the tavern and porter house. Rebels and loyalists divided because rebels "updated the egalitarian ideas of the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and English Jacobinism, and combined them with the labor theory of value to produce an incisive critique of industrial capitalism."[9] As a result they were neither proletarian socialists nor middle-class reformers but radical artisans, the "catalytic element" in the antebellum working class.[10]

These rebel artisans represented the American side of a transatlantic phenomenon which E. J. Hobsbaum has called "Jacobin consciousness"--"the set of aspirations, experiences, methods, and moral attitudes with which the French (and also before it the American) Revolution had imbued the thinking and confident poor" who "wanted respect, recognition, and equality."[11] In the 1790s and early 1800s Anglo-American Jacobins had organized themselves into democratic societies, usually uniting middle-class and plebian radicals; and they expressed the ideas and values of the transatlantic, liberal Enlightenment, particularly democracy, equality, and liberty. Democracy was especially important to them, meaning not simply representative political procedures but, according to Richard Twomey, "the idea that ordinary men had been denied their political and social dignity by the rich and well-born."[12] Not limited to artisans, American Jacobins typically formed the left-wing of the Democratic-Republican party. In a larger sense they were the rebels of the whole American republican tradition which Gordon Wood has so brilliantly described as uniting a theory of representative government with a whole vision of a reformed society built on a homogeneous and united citizenry embodying the republican virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance. The rebels stressed the egalitarian and democratic side of this tradition and argued with their opponents not only about politics but also about the nature of the virtue which sustained the republic. The culture of these nineteenth-century Jacobins included popular rationalism, freethought, and radical republicanism. Tom Paine was one of their most prominent heroes.[13]

II

When Tom Paine died in 1809 at his farm in New Rochelle, New York, he was remembered as a hero by a few devoted rationalists but as an "infidel" by the general public. After his death Paine's friends practically disappeared. Although orthodox believers and Enlightenment liberals like Paine had submerged their differences in supporting the Revolution, the clergy had effectively attacked him since the 1790s as a symbol of atheism and anarchy. The course of the

French Revolution and the success of the Second Great Awakening changed the American climate of opinion so that the skepticism, for which Paine had become notorious in The Age of Reason, was too costly for a major political party to support. Many Jeffersonians were lower-class Christians who would not tolerate "infidelity." Religious rationalism and freethought were divorced from the democratic, republican culture which triumphed in 1800 with the Jeffersonian party.[14]

Thus the approximately forty freethinkers who celebrated Tom Paine's birthday in New York City on January 29, 1825, had few direct links to their American antecedents in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless these men started a tradition which spread to numerous other cities and lasted at least until 1860 and in some cases until the end of the century. The Paine celebrations were associated with the labor activism of the era; but they outlived its decline after 1837, in part because the celebrations were sustained and expanded by a flow of radical immigrants from abroad. In New York City during the late '20s the Paineites were most closely associated with the faction of the Workingmen's party led by George Henry Evans and Robert Dale Owen. In the '30s they leaned toward Jackson and were intermittently associated with Tammany Hall, where they held some of their celebrations, particularly between 1830 and 1835. This was the period between the decline of the Workingmen's party but before the split of the radical Locofoco faction from the Jacksonian Democrats. Participating in the Paine celebrations were several leaders of the Jacksonian left including Evans, E. J. Webb, John Windt, Augustus and George Matsell, John Morrison, and Robert Hogbin. Most of these men broke from Tammany with the Locofocos, and a few stayed in the "rump" that refused to return after the reconciliation in 1837. At the Paine celebration in 1838 Benjamin Offen was toasted as "the single-handed advocate of liberal principles at Tammany Hall."[15]

Throughout the country the celebrations themselves were often in taverns, one of which was decorated "with the portraits of Paine, Washington, and Jefferson; and the star spangled banner, arranged in rich folds of drapery, proudly displayed the American Eagle."[16] New York City's elaborate celebrations in the 1830s commonly had dinners of over a hundred men and large balls afterwards. Typical of contemporary dinners, all celebrations had a meal, speeches, and toasts, sometimes enlivened by songs and original poems. The great majority of the participants in New York City were artisans and shopkeepers, who celebrated Paine as a revolutionary hero with the courage to oppose religious orthodoxy.[17]

The most salient characteristic of the leaders of the celebrations was their English origins. William Carver, Benjamin Offen, Gilbert Vale, E. J. Webb, and George Houston were all English immigrants; although not technically officers of the celebrations, so were Peter Bussy and George Henry Evans. These Englishmen were among the most important leaders and included three editors of labor and freethought

UMI

papers which prominently featured the celebrations. Since Paine's birthday was celebrated in London in 1818, the leaders might have brought the tradition along with them; Benjamin Offen was well aware of the English celebrations. Consistent with large trends in English immigration, four of the five came over in the 1820s. There were economic downturns in England in 1819 and the late '20s which could have stimulated emigration, though America's trade cycle generally paralleled England's. In addition, the Combination Acts in England both instituted and symbolized an era of repression in England that could have led many politically-minded men to leave. Significantly, of the five men on which information exists--Offen, Vale, Webb, Evans, and Bussy--four arrived in the United States at a mature age. Offen and Webb were in their early fifties when they emigrated; Vale was forty-one, Bussy, thirty-four. (Evans came over with his father at the age of fifteen.) Their age at departure suggests political reasons for leaving. George Houston left England, for example, in the 1820s after serving two years in Newgate Prison for publishing a translation of d'Holbach's Histore de Jésus Christ under the title of Ecce Homo. A "physical force" Chartist, Peter Bussy left England in 1839 because of his involvement in the abortive Newport uprising of that year.[18]

The easy entrance of some of these men into the politics and artisan culture of New York City suggests that there was considerable cross-fertilization between the English and American labor movements. Their comparative ideological sophistication probably aided their rise in New Yorks's artisan community, which was searching for answers to its plight. Both Benjamin Offen and Gilbert Vale achieved prominence in the Paine celebrations soon after their arrival. George Henry Evans was an important radical newspaper editor from the late 1820s through the 1840s. George Houston started a newspaper soon after his arrival. A fixture in radical Democratic politics throughout the 1830s, E. J. Webb was the Workingmen's nomination for the state Senate within four years of his first appearance in New York City.[19]

The ethnicity of the common participants is harder to determine than that of the leaders. The one fragment of direct evidence on the subject comes from the account of the Paine celebration in West Farms, New York, in 1833: "A number of persons American, English, and Scotch, met here on the evening of the 29th . . . ."[20] Celebrants of Tom Paine would most likely be familiar with Anglo-American culture. Most of the names of the participants suggest that they were either English or native American. As German immigration increased in the 1830s and '40s, however, a considerable number of German rationalists came to the United States and joined the tradition. The importance of freethought in the politics and labor movement of New York and other large cities suggests that it had a significant native American following, particularly among urban journeymen.[21]

The Paineites believed in a popular rationality in which universal principles governing the physical, moral, and political worlds were readily accessible to all. Since they were small shopkeepers and artisan producers who usually owned their own means of production, their work gave them a social independence that was conducive to mental independence as well. Particularly for artisans, their work required a mental competence for its achievement. A carpenter like Webb had to be an amateur architect too, so that when he moved from carpentry to full-time architecture he probably already had the essential knowledge. Reason really was self-evident to these men, and Paine's rationalism appealed to their common sense. Paine himself loved a sense of practical, rational power, expressed in his design of an iron bridge which E. J. Hobsbawm says was probably the most common symbol of progress for the artisan working class in the era of the industrial revolution. These self-reliant men wanted to build their way to the millennial future, using their common sense and skilled hands. They were attracted to Paine in antebellum America just as they were in the revolutionary era:

> . . . Paine not only told his readers that poverty was incompatible with felicity and civilization. He told them that the light of reason had dawned in men like themselves to end poverty, and that Revolution showed how reason must triumph. He was the least romantic of rebels. Self-evident, practical, artisan commonsense would transform the world . . . . the mere discovery that reason can cut like an axe through the undergrowth of custom which kept men enslaved and ignorant, was a revelation.[22]

According to Eric Foner, the "clarity, directness and forcefulness" of Paine's whole style appealed to this popular audience, and he used it to convey his message "that anyone could grasp the nature of politics and government."[23]

The character of this popular rationalism in Jacksonian New York was evident in the teachings of Gilbert Vale, one of the most important promoters of the Paine celebrations and editor of the Beacon, a freethought journal.[24] Vale made his living lecturing on mathematics, navigation, surveying, and astronomy at places like the Hall of Science and Tammany Hall. Generally Vale's topics applied mathematics to understanding and controlling the physical world. Particularly at this time, each subject had fixed and commonly understandable rules which gave one a great power over the environment. Like Paine before him, Vale showed his listeners how easy it was to understand the workings of the universe. For this purpose the astronomy he so prominently featured in his paper was indispensable. To aid him he even invented and patented "a combined terrestrial globe and celestial sphere which was used in some leading educational institutions in the country to facilitate the teaching of astronomy."[25] The subject had wide appeal. At the time of his death in 1832 Thomas Skidmore, machinist and radical leader of the Workingmen's party, was "attempting to cast metallic shells for terrestrial globes by 'producing transverse rotary motions in a hollow sphere.'"[26] He had previously tried to win Governor DeWitt Clinton's financial support for a new reflecting telescope. Another leader of the celebrations, E. J. Webb, lectured too, speaking in the early 1830s at the Mechanics' Institute on "'the science of bridge Architecture, and the best known methods of roofing'" as well as more political subjects like "Priestcraft" and the Sunday-mail question.[27] The jump from bridge architecture to priestcraft was not difficult for these men.

Vale, Webb, and the Paineites generally were part of a popular artisan culture that idealized science. John Frazee described the roots of this culture in his account of his apprenticeship to William Lawrence, a master bricklayer, working in Rahway, New Jersey:

> He [Lawrence] would converse with his boys on all subjects, and would often ask questions on the most obtuse sciences, he was too uneducated to converse upon them rationally, and much less to give them solution. His perpetual talk however, and his curious [interrogatories?], were, I think, well calculated to entice action in the thinking powers . . . . William Lawrence was the man who first inspired me to think philosophically. When he had all his boys at home and seated around his winter evenings' fire, we constituted a sort of debating club, and could Newton and Archimedes have heard our wild and heterogeneous discussions and arguments upon science and laws, I am sure they would have been highly and laughingly amused, if not enlightened. None of us, not even our Boss, had ever read or seen a book on the Arts and Sciences, yet our heads or our mouths at least were always [full?] of such vapors.[28]

Significantly, popular science was an oral tradition that spread beyond the limits of those with "book-learning." For Frazee at least it was an integral part of his apprenticeship training. In 1818 he moved to New York City where he prospered as a marble cutter and sculptor, creating, among many others, the statue of Paine erected by his followers at his farm in New Rochelle in 1839. Frazee attended some of the Paine dinners, and ran twice on the Workingmen's ticket in 1830 and 1831. Nevertheless, he continued to value the piety and particularly the stern morality of his upbringing and looked on The Life of Franklin as practically a Bible.[29]

This popular and practical rationality was the basis of the Paineites' freethought and radical republicanism, both of which set them at odds with evangelical reformers. As free thinkers the Paineites attacked the huge revivals of the era--"the 'darkness visible' of superstitious folly," according to one Paineite toast.[30] Another Paineite toasted "The American Tract Society--Large manufacturers of fable and folly. Ten thousand simple females are now wanted to distribute tracts, to whom good wages will be given, in promisory notes, without date, payable at the Bank of Heaven."[31] But the Sunday-mail campaign aroused the most venom in the early Paine celebrations, which rang with denunciations of the Sabbatarians and cheers for Richard M. Johnson, whose Senate report signaled the defeat of their petition campaign. John Morrison, one of their leaders, was co-chairman of the committee sponsored by Tammany Hall to defeat the evangelicals. To the Paineites the evangelical reformers directly threatened the concrete republican achievements of the Revolution, especially the separation of church and state. An anonymous pamphlet against the Sunday-mail campaign expressed their fears if the Sabbatarians succeeded: "All that is estimable in the free institutions of our country, will be endangered or lost . . . . monkish bigotry and superstition will reign triumphant in the land--the sceptre of civil power will pass from the people to the priesthood, and freedom's expiring groans will be heard from the confines of Maine to the Mexican line . . . ."[32] By propogating religious superstition, the evangelicals debased the people and thus undermined the political order: people blinded by religious delusion could not be independent, rational citizens of a republican state.[33]

The Enlightenment rationalism that these men represented had united with orthodox Protestantism during the Revolution to promote republican virtue and to fight the consequences of luxury. Now in the nineteenth century the two were at war, after the French Revolution, the Second Great Awakening, and the spread of rationalism to a lower-class constituency. For Paineites, Christianity undermined republican virtue, just as Christians saw the Paineites doing the same. To Paineites reason was the key to republican virtue, a combination of industry, frugality, rationality, and independence which they often summed up as liberty or happiness. Benjamin Offen defined these two terms together as the natural law: "The love of happiness and the love of liberty, are the same in man. He ceases to love freedom only when he ceases to be rational or to exist. Such is the value of liberty to man, that the unknown power we call God has made the love of it a law of our nature."[34] Like eighteenth-century deists, Offen believed in a God who created the universe; but he was not the God of revealed religion. To Offen and the Paineites all men were naturally virtuous, that is, rational men who love liberty, unless subverted by superstition or unnatural institutions. As men were enlightened their virtue increased. Superstition was the downfall of this natural virtue because it destroyed reason, its foundation. One free thinker summed up his view in the *Working Man's Advocate* when he said that "as you enlighten mankind, so you, in the same ratio make them virtuous; and . . . on the contrary, where ignorance rears her hydra head, vice and debasement are sure to be her concomitants."[35]

As disciples of the radical Enlightenment the Paineites enhanced the American Jacobin tradition. They also had the Enlightenment's strengths and weaknesses, as well as those of the English radical heritage which many brought with them. Their attempts to transfer eighteenth-century Enlightment ideals to nineteenth-century America often obscured new social realities. According to E. P. Thompson in England during the 1820s the "Paine-Carlile tradition had acquired a certain stridency and air of unreality. The cry, a bas les aristos, has less force when we consider the real structure of power in England as the Industrial Revolution advanced, the complex interpenetration of aristocratic privilege and commerical and industrial wealth."[36] Even the attacks on the priesthood as tools of the status quo were "somehow just wide of the mark," missing in particular the evangelical and non-confromist ministers so active at the time.[37] One senses a similar isolation in the American Paine celebrations, especially in the fear of the Sunday-mail campaign as an aristocratic attempt to revive the old regime of priests and nobles. Part of this very real apprehension derived from the English origins of so many of the Paineite leaders, who feared the appearance in America of the "European" social conditions they had fled. David Montgomery has hypothesized that, arriving earlier in England, the industrial revolution undermined the economic and social position of English artisans and led many of them to seek better fortunes in the more backward, but expansive, American economy. They vigorously opposed any signs of similar processes in America, thus contributing to the widespread fear of Europeanization in the nineteenth-century American labor movement. Only a threat like Europeanization could explain the violence of the Paineites' reaction to the Sunday-mail campaign. One anti-Sabbatarian pamphlet marked by their influence concluded:

> It is for you, therefore, to resolve, that
> 'No lordling here, with gorging jaws,
> Shall wring from industry her food;
> Nor fiery bigots' holy laws
> Lay waste our streets and fields in blood!'[38]

Ironically, the success of the American Revolution which the Paineites cherished so much also weakened the effectiveness of their ideals. As Eric Foner states, "Not only had Americans already achieved the political goals demanded by English radicals--a wide suffrage, republican government, the absence of institutionalized privilege--but the burning social grievances which fueled English radicalism were not nearly as prevalent here."[39] Since their essential political demands had been met, the Paineites concentrated almost completely on religious issues. Their freethought met a real need in the midst of the evangelical revivals, but it did not engage the basic social and economic issues of the day.[40] The Paineites primarily defended a revolution that had already taken place, thinking of it in the ideal terms of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment "when republican institutions seemed to be the key which would eliminate all the evils of civil society: class conflict, injustice, poverty, tyranny, nationalism, and war."[41] Nevertheless the Paineites helped keep alive liberating Enlightenment traditions, such as Paine's opposition to slavery.

Paine's first essay in America was against slavery, and he wrote the preamble to the emancipation act passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1780. He also joined the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery in 1787. In keeping with his position, the Paineites in the late 1820s toasted Jean Pierre Boyer, the leader of Haiti after Toussiant L'Ouverture, and Francis and Camilla Wright, early opponents of American slavery. Four of them signed the New York Manumission Society's large antislavery petition in 1829. Slavery contradicted the Paineites artisan ideal of mental and social independence. It was also the antithesis of their Enlightenment conception of natural rights, for as Paine himself said, slavery violated the natural right to freedom, one of man's most prized possessions. Thus, "as the true owner has a right to reclaim his goods that were stolen, and sold; so the slave, who is proper owner of his freedom, has a right to reclaim it, ..."[42] In general the Paineites helped keep alive the Enlightenment ideals like natural rights, popular reason, and man's inherent goodness which Edward Pessen found so characteristic of the leaders of the American labor movement. These ideals helped create the constituency for the secular reforms of the era proposed by Owenites and labor radicals. As part of the American radical republican tradition, Enlightenment thought also helped legitimate labor's union organization and strikes.[43]

III

The Paineites quickly became an integral part of the Jacobin heritage of New York's artisan community. In essence it was a republican political tradition originating in the American Revolution and the politics of the 1790s, when attitudes toward revolutionary France so divided the nation and the city. No one group in American society monopolized the heritage of the Revolution, of course; but all artisans including masters and journeymen felt especially close to it, particularly when they thought that the rest of society did not grant them the respect and social position which they thought the Revolution had guaranteed them. The Republican party was able to win the allegiance of most artisans by alligning itself with the Jacobin tradition and using it to express their grievances. The living memory of the Revolution provided the rhetoric in which the party made its appeals.

According to Howard Rock, during the first two decades of the century the artisan's "memory of themselves and fellow workers as soldiers fighting for their country was central to their sense of status and self-worth and to their political awareness."[44] The memories and conflicts of the Revolution permeated New York's politics. The Republican party was particularly adept at painting the Federalists as Tories

UMI

lusting after the perquisites of English aristocracy: "The stakes were high [in New York City's elections]. The British, in Federalist guise, were threatening to once again deprive tradesmen of their sacred liberties, to 'ROB the mechanics and laborers of their independence of mind' and make them the 'slaves and vassals of the English nabobs and Federal lords' . . . . Thus, each election was a new battle and each Republican victory a new and triumphant chapter in the history of the Revolution."[45] The artisans defense of their "'independence of mind'" reflects their resentment against a deferential society dominated by merchants and landowners; and the fear of "'English nabobs and Federal lords'" shows a real anxiety that a parasitic English-style aristocracy would grow in America, depriving artisans of the fruits of their labor and the liberties they fought for in the Revolution. The city's artisans could use this tradition against each other, as when striking journeymen identified themselves with the patriots and their employers with Tories; but both journeymen and masters spoke from within a common heritage. This living memory of the Revolution was the context in which the American Jacobin tradition grew and sustained itself.[46]

The central premise of Jacobin social and political thought was the labor theory of value--the idea that labor created all wealth. The labor theory of value derived in part from the Ricardian socialism which became popular in the American labor movement in the 1820s particularly through the efforts of men like William Heighton in Philadelphia. The Ricardian socialists were "a group of English economic thinkers and publicists," like William Thompson, John Gray, and Patrick Colquhoun, who took their labor theory of value from the economist David Ricardo and used it to attack the inequalities of wealth produced by modern capitalism.[47] Children of the Enlightenment, they joined with Robert Owen in believing "that a newly constituted society, born of rationalism, was at hand, waiting to confer its benefits upon a people sufficiently initiated in the true facts of political economy to demand it."[48] The labor theory of value also had deep roots in the experience and traditions of American artisans who created value each day making useful products with their own hands. The theory struck them as simple common sense.[49]

A logical consequence of the labor theory of value was the popular idea of the "economic and social primacy of the producing classes."[50] Artisans thought that since the producers created all wealth they deserved its benefits and the respect of society for their fundamental contribution instead of the condescension they so often received. They used the idea to express their sense of injustice; as the Working Man's Advocate said to the citizens of New York, "You are the real producers of all the wealth of the community. Without your labors no class could live. How is it then you are so poor while those who labor not are rich."[51] Since artisans made their claims for democracy and social status as afflicted producers, the idea of primacy of the producing classes and the distinction between producers and non-producers ran throughout their politics in the early nineteenth century. These ideas were not unique to them, however: they could be found in the speeches of most of America's political leaders including Andrew Jackson and J. C. Calhoun. Thus they helped link the Jacobin tradition to the broader political culture of the nation. The ideas were also open to wide interpretation, particularly over who really were productive workers. The definition ranged from simply farmers and artisans to practically all the people of the United States. A strict definition could result in a profound antagonism to the non-productive classes like professionals, merchants, and bankers; a broad definition could include these groups, excluding only the "idle parasites," and talk of a just and balanced relationship between all social classes. Nevertheless, the distinction between producers and non-producers and the idea of the primacy of the producing classes were central to radical artisan politics and the early labor movement.[52]

The central ideas of the labor theory of value and the primacy of the producing classes were united in a common vision of the producers' republic. George Henry Evans described it when he envisioned a republic of "but one class, a class neither rich nor poor, but the class of CITIZENS enjoying in equality and abundance the fruits of their industry, and nothing more."[53] The producers' republic combined the Jacobin ideals of democracy, egalitarianism, and independence in a society of small independent producers where everyone worked and received the just rewards of their labor. With its vision the rebel artisans fought the dependence and Europeanization they saw in the beginnings of the industrial revolution. With it they attacked the concentration of wealth which violated the republic's equality while permitting the rich to live in idleness. With it they challenged any power in society which might threaten the rule of the people by gaining control of the state. The ideal of the producers' republic set Jacobins at odds with the social and economic developments of the Jacksonian era, as the expansion of laissez-faire capitalism threatened to create a "monied aristocracy" in the "Great Republic of the West."[54]

Rebel artisans had difficulty defining the cause for the decline of the producers' republic. The Jacobin tradition was fundamentally a political ideology committed to private property, but the problems artisans faced were rooted in the economic transformation of American society by laissez-faire capitalism, particularly in the increasing inequalities of wealth. Jacobins, for example, commonly attributed the concentration of wealth to the defects in political institutions, such as the legalization of monopolies. Although to promote equality they opposed monopoly, their opposition helped the development of laissez-faire capitalism by attacking governmental restrictions on economic activity. Like republicanism itself, the Jacobin tradition saw society as fundamentally good, while government threatened its naturally just workings. It was easy to see laissez-faire capitalism as part of the good society and difficult to attack it except in its political consequences. When Jacobins tried to expand their analysis beyond the perversions of the people's government they were faced with the problem of defining the aristocracy which they all opposed. To justify an attack against the aristocrats they had to be identified as wealthy non-producers, living off the labor of others; but all the rich were not "idle parasites." What about the rich master artisans who still ran their own businesses? The distinction between the producers and non-producers was a clumsy weapon, and even the most radical Jacobins like Skidmore did not attack private property itself on which the aristocracy rested. Skidmore only wanted every citizen to begin adult life with an equal share of it. The Jacobin tradition offered little insight into economic change in the era.[55]

Jacobins developed a program based on their essentially political vision. Since the natural workings of society were just, the existence of inequality and the threat of Europeanization meant that monopoly and special privilege had interfered with its workings. Since the people ruled in a republic but a self-interested few had legislated for their own advantage, the only explanation was that the people had not been awake to their true interests and had let themselves be deprived of their rights. Obviously the solution was to put the people back in power by organizing them politically and enlightening them about their rights and the means by which they had been deprived of them by speculators, monopolists and aristocrats. As Alan Dawley writes, "The generation of American working people that confronted the first stages of industrial capitalism looked back upon their political heritage and remembered not exclusion but inclusion, not violence but peaceful change, and concluded that they could change the laws if only they would do so. In their eyes, the government was but the executive committee of the people."[56] It is not surprising, therefore, that New York's artisans applied their Jacobin heritage to the contemporary crisis of their community by launching the Workingmen's party in 1829.[57]

IV

Helen Sumner titled her classic account of the Workingmen's parties "Citizenship," her summary of the fundamental issue raised by labor's nationwide political movement in the late 1820s and 1830s.[58] She might as well have called it "A Crisis of the Jacobin Tradition" for the Workingmen's parties all raised the question of the nature of republican society and the place of the artisan community in it. The problems of the Workingmen reflected a crisis in the urban artisan communities and in society at large caused by increasing inequality, the result of the expanding laissez-faire capitalist order. Thus Sumner says that the causes of labor's political awakening "was economic and political inequality between citizens of different classes, not primarily between employers and wage-earners, ..."[59] Inequality and the social distinctions it fostered threatened the producers' republic. The concern with citizenship expressed the rebel artisans' sense that the very basis of republican society was being redefined.

The concern with citizenship was reflected in two key issues of the labor parties throughout the country--the demand for more leisure and adequate public education. Without leisure, and thus a shorter working day, the artisans felt condemned to an inferior position in the state because they could not afford the time to consider and participate in public questions. Like the Sabbatarians, the rebel artisans wanted to change the use of leisure time; but they saw it as a means of preserving the producers' republic through political action. Without an adequate education the children of artisans would similarly be deprived of their political power, because they would lack the requisite knowledge and training to participate in politics. Instead of defending their rights they would be subject to the wiles of demagogues. Other issues of the Workingmen's parties illustrated their concern with social and political status, from adequate payment for jurors to the unequal representation of the "producing classes" in elective office. All these issues, but particularly leisure and education, demonstrated a desire to redefine republican virtue and the means by which it could be instilled. The social and political significance of people like the Paineites and Francis Wright derived largely from their attempts to rationally reformulate republican virtue at a time when artisan communities throughout the country were addressing the question of citizenship.[60]

Politics was the natural expression of this concern with the republican order and the artisans place in it. The political form of the Workingmen's movement in New York was typical of the whole nation, except Philadelphia where it included both a city-wide union organization and a political party.[61] This politics of citizenship was a continuation of the political life of the New York artisan community at least since the turn of the century. Through politics artisans had waged an attack on a deferential society which assumed a "submissive relationship between the classes": "By making self-respect of the artisan a central campaign issue, the Republicans and mechanic community transformed political debate into an open war upon the stigma of second-class citizenship."[62] The New York Workingmen's party was therefore a culmination of the politics of the artisan community as well as a departure from its previous history because of the formation of an independent party organization.

The roots of the party in the artisan community are evident in Table 4.1. It shows that almost 70 percent of the party's followers in 1829-30--as defined by Walter Hugins--were artisans; and their representation was considerably higher than in the other two reform movements studied here and even in relation to their share of the Directory. Artisans also dominated the leadership of the party. In addition, the party united masters and journeymen. At least 50 men on Hugins list of 850 New York Workingmen were members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, composed almost completely of masters.[63] On the other hand, the party's 31 percent of the vote for State Assembly in 1829 indicates that it relied on a broader constituency than masters alone. Significantly, Hugins states that, "Only in

1829 can it be said that the Workingmen's movement was truly a manifestation of lower-class voting, primarily by comparison with the vote for the two major parties."[64] The lower-class voters were probably journeymen responding to the radical appeals of the party for defense of the producers' republic.[65]

TABLE 4.1

OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISON: THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF 1829-30, THE SUNDAY MAIL PETITION OF 1829, THE LARGER ANTISLAVERY PETITION OF 1829, AND A SAMPLE OF THE 1829 DIRECTORY OF NEW YORK CITY

Categories	1829-30 Workingmen		1829 Sun. Mail		1829 Antislav.		Sample '29 Directory	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Merchants	3.1	16	13.3	48	12.8	87	10.	77
Prof., etc.	6.	31	15.8	57	11.1	75	10.8	83
Shopkp., etc.	17.	88	23.	83	31.3	212	17.5	134
Artisans	69.7	359	38.8	140	38.1	258	48.	368
Labor., etc.	3.3	17	8.6	31	4.9	33	11.3	87
Other	.1	4	.5	2	1.9	13	2.3	18
Total	99.2	515	100.	361	100.1	678	99.9	767

Source: Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), Table I, pp. 113-116. Appendices 4, 5, 20.

Note: The full names of the occupational categories are merchants; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials; shopkeepers and proprietors; artisans; laborers and cartmen; and other.

Of course, the formation of the New York Workingmen's party assumed fundamental structural changes, particularly the expansion of the suffrage, the growth of the city and its artisan class, and, most important, the increasing inequality. Nevertheless, the more immediate causes for artisans taking an independent political course were the genuine radicalism of the party's founders and the "corruption" of the Republican party. Tammany Hall, New York City's headquarters of the Albany Regency, was torn by factions well before 1829, in part because of its endorsement of Andrew Jackson for President. The factional confusion was so bad in 1828 that the "New York Enquirer, the regular Republican paper, admitted that 'it is impossible for us to determine who are the regularly nominated candidates . . . .'"[66] This division in the Republican party, the traditional political home of the city's artisans, helped open the political arena for new movements appealing to the same constituency in the name of purified Republican principles. Robert Dale Owen, at least, thought that the New York Workingmen's party owed its "rise and success" to the "corruption" of the old party.[67] Perhaps the divisions in the whole Republican party caused by the election of 1824 acted on a national scale like the divisions of Tammany did in New York, although Owen probably claimed too much for corruption and factionalism. More important was the development of radical leadership outside and opposed to the regular parties with an ideology distinguishing artisans from the rest of society. The development of a labor press permitted this leadership to speak to its constituency.[68]

Scholars have generally agreed that the New York Workingmen's party was authentically radical in its origins although infiltrated after its surprising success in 1829 by more conservative elements interested in capturing it for partisan advantage. Often using unscrupulous tactics, these expedient and more conservative elements included the Cook faction, a group of "quondam National Republicans" also associated with the Antimasonic party.[69] Nevertheless, the Workingmen's party had its greatest success when it took its most radical positions in the fall of 1829, proving itself in that election "an impressive organization, even frightening to some politicians."[70] Its success showed that there was a constituency ready to listen to the proposals of its radical leaders. Edward Pessen, for example, rejects the common notion that Thomas Skidmore, the party's most important radical leader and thinker, was an alien intellectual who imposed himself on a practically minded movement: "Despite his expression of levelling views of the most radical character, his leadership was for a time supported by thousands of working men."[71] Even when other leaders of the labor movement rejected his radical solution of redistributing property, they agreed with his analysis of American society as torn by inequality and class conflict.[72]

Skidmore spoke from the radical side of the American Jacobin tradition which advocated equality as much as democracy and found in the writings of Jefferson and Paine the proof texts of its theories. As we have seen, the Paineite tradition was not dead in the 1820s; and Skidmore himself was indebted to Paine's writings. According to

Eric Foner, "The title of Skidmore's pamphlet, The Rights of Man to Property, was meant to pay homage to Paine at the same time that it indicated the need to transcend Paineite republicanism in the quest for equality."[73] Rejecting the hereditary transmission of wealth by individuals to their descendants, his complicated scheme involved the equal distribution of property to heads of households. His program addressed the same inequality that concerned more moderate proposals of the Workingmen's party, but he dealt with it in a radical way by redistributing property. Like the party as a whole he considered masters and journeymen together as producers, not as fundamentally competitive groups. A machinist himself, he was therefore part of the contemporary redefinition of the artisans' Jacobin heritage.[74]

With these thoughts in mind one can more easily understand how Skidmore could have led the party in its radical phase and had a constituency receptive to his ideas. In addition, even if one considers his scheme visionary, he should not similarly dismiss the tradition out of which Skidmore spoke. The most consistent leader of the other radical faction, George Henry Evans, had difficulty justifying his break with Skidmore; and he ultimately returned in the late '30s and '40s to the same radical Jacobin tradition, particularly in his program to distribute public lands to homesteaders. Evans' later program of property distribution addressed a real need in antebellum society and was ultimately put into effect in the Homestead Acts, although in a conservative form. The radical Jacobin tradition which

Skidmore expressed had therefore real relevance, and its submersion in the 1830s by the other elements of the Workingmen's movement insured that their proposals would lack a certain "hardness" about the distribution of wealth which lay at the base of most of the problems they addressed.[75]

Skidmore spoke, however, for only one part of the artisans' political heritage. In January, 1829 the Evans and Cook factions of the party rejected his proposals as divisive, which they were. It was hard to unite and sustain a political party on the basis of threatening private property, especially among the artisans who distinguished themselves from the propertyless laboring class below them and saw themselves as future property owners, if not so already.

Consequently, even though Skidmore considered them together as producers, his program probably divided masters and journeymen when their political unity was indispensable. The tratitional attacks on aristocracy and the artisans' low social status were more likely to unite them behind the party. Thus the discriminatory school system became a prominent issue. The rich sent their children to private schools while the rest of the community could only afford the public schools, which were practically run as a charity by the Public School Society, a private institution principally funded by private philanthropy. Almost half of the school-age children in the late 1820s did not attend any school at all.[76]

Quality, universal public education was the most common demand of the Workingmen's parties throughout the nation, as well as of the New York party. Education was to be "the great lever by which the Workingmen are to be raised to their proper elevation in this republic."[77] Elaborated in public lectures by Francis Wright and Robert Dale Owen, the educational proposal of the Evans faction, usually called "state guardianship," spoke to this concern for public education but aroused violent opposition in turn because, given the opinions of its sponsors, it was associated with religious "infidelity." State guardianship was a system of publicly-funded and state-run boarding schools where in an atmosphere of "Spartan simplicity" both manual and intellectual training would produce equal citizens for the republic. Although the system was not to be compulsory, its sponsors thought it would become universal through the power of the public opinion.[78]

Like Skidmore's program, state guardianship was not an alien imposition on the party but the expression of one of its more numerous and undoubtedly its longest lasting faction. Similarly, it was defeated largely by the Cook faction, admittedly more conservative latecomers to the party. Most important, state guardianship was part of the same crisis of republicanism as Skidmore's ideas. It also addressed the inequality threatening republican society and the position of artisans in it, but in the place of the equal distribution of property it advocated the equal distribution of culture. Its proponents thought that "it will regenerate America in one generation. It will make but one class out of many that now envy and despise each other. It will make American citizens what they once declared themselves, 'Free and Equal.'"[79] This stress on equality was the other side of an attack on aristocracy:

> In republican schools, there must be no temptation to aristocratical prejudices. The pupils must learn to consider themselves as fellow-citizens, as equals. Respect ought to be paid, and will always be paid to virtue, and to talent; but it ought not to be paid to riches, or withheld from poverty. Yet if the children from these State Schools are to go every evening, the one to his wealthy parents' soft carpeted drawing-room, and the other to his poor father's, or widowed mother's comfortless cabin, will they return next day as friends and equals? He knows little of human nature who thinks they will.[80]

Hence full-time boarding schools were needed to save the children from the effects of disparities in wealth. They were also needed to save the students from the effects of urban social degeneracy and to provide enough control by the school to instill virtuous habits, including temperance. Distrusting the ability of parents to properly raise republican citizens, the state guardianship plan had, therefore, authoritarian aspects to which people naturally objected. The opinions of its sponsors and its stress on teaching rational and scientific knowledge also made it sound as if it was designed to "palm off" on the party and the workers the "doctrines of infidelity."[81]

In a bitterly disputed decision in May, 1830, the General Executive Committee of the Workingmen's party dominated by the Cook group rejected the state guardianship plan of education, insuring a split with the Evans faction. (The Cook faction's opposition to both radical programs did not mean, however, that it was alien to the Jacobin tradition;

UMI

rather it probably represented its more moderate side.) Each faction bitterly accused the other of injecting religion into the proceedings of the party. The Evans faction thought that it was being subjected to the same kind of religious repression evident in the campaign to stop the Sunday-mail: "The same spirit that governed the signers of the Sabbath mail petitions--that same spirit is abroad among us here; the spirit of interference in the rights of conscience; the spirit that prompts ambitious schemers to taix [sic] up religion with politics, and to add to the fire of party spirit the fuel of polemical controversy."[82] Defending liberty and the republic, the Evans faction fought back in the same militant spirit that it had used against the Sabbath-mail petitioners. Robert Dale Owen even called the Cook faction the "Tappan party" and thought that voters returned to corrupt Tammany Hall in the fall of 1830 rather than see the spread of "Church and State influence."[83] Although this was, of course, partisan rhetoric, it had some substance since the Cook faction had links to the Antimasonic party, which was suffused with evangelical spirit and included Lewis Tappan among its publicly avowed supporters. In addition, the building trades were notably prominent in the Cook faction as they had been among the signers of the Sunday-mail petitions. In contrast, as in the antislavery petition, the printing and leather trades were disproportionately represented in the more radical Evans and Skidmore factions. Thus trade, religious, and cultural divisions among the artisans had political significance in the Workingmen's party, particularly because the crisis out of which it arose involved not simply typical issues like an adequate public school system but the very redefinition of republican society in all its aspects.[84]

The Workingmen's party disappeared as an electoral force after the fall elections of 1830. The campaign of 1829 had been its greatest success. Its diminished vote was divided between the three factions with Cook's aligned with the Antimasonic and National Republican parties. Edward Pessen has summarized the factors usually mentioned as causing the downfall of the party: "Their own political ineptitude and inexperience, internal bickering, heterogeneous membership, lack of funds, and the infiltration of their ranks by men interested only in using them, all played an important part in bringing about the downfall of the Working Men; so did the opposition of the press, and the shrewdness and adaptability of the Democrats."[85] He adds that its "distinctly class-oriented program" was probably too narrow for electoral success and that its "nay-saying" ideology may have been too far from the temper of the times.[86] Helen Sumner thought that the New York party's very radicalism occasioned "legitimate" internal divisions over policy in contrast to the Philadelphia party, whose splits were almost all the work of intriguing professional politicians.[87] Both Sumner and Pessen agree that the party's significance lay not in the number of its votes but in the issues it raised and programs it proposed, which were almost all taken up and instituted by other reformers and the major parties. Thus the New York Workingmen played the classic role of American third parties as gadflies and innovators whose importance lies in their ability to challenge the mainstream. Although these analyses offer a coherent perspective on the causes of the party's failure, they do not examine its significance for the Jacobin tradition.[88]

The history of the Workingmen's party illustrates the inability of the Jacobin tradition to deal directly with inequalities in wealth, the source of most of the problems the party faced. Skidmore proposed the equal distribution of property; and the Evans faction proposed the equal distribution of culture through the state guardianship plan of education; but both divided New York City's artisans. In part, the divisiveness was the result of the nature of the artisan constituency, for Skidmore's plan must have been more popular among journeymen than among property-holding masters. This failure of the producers of the city to unite behind a radical Jacobin program probably helped convince journeymen that their separate organization into unions was a better method of dealing with their problems than political parties. And in part, the divisiveness was a consequence of the nature of the programs themselves. The state guardianship plan included authoritarian aspects that any true Jacobin could object to; and both radical plans required extensive state action when their own tradition distrusted the interference of the state. And yet, this authoritarianism and strong government initiative indicate that the radicals were struggling to apply the Jacobin tradition to contempory problems for which it was ill-suited. As essentially a political tradition committed to private property it had difficulty analyzing and proposing solutions for disparities in wealth except as they had political consequences. Similarly, since the tradition viewed republican society as essentially just it was hard to unite Jacobins in a program that would interfere with its workings, even society's unequal distribution of wealth which so many opposed. Thus it was easy to unite Jacobins against a public school system that discriminated against the poor or against legal monopoly but not for Skidmore's plan to redistribute property, even when it was designed to preserve the republic by guaranteeing its essential equality. Skidmore's program and state guardianship were divisive not simply because of their radicalness but also because they strained some of the basic values and ideas of the Jacobin tradition.

When Skidmore's faction left the party, Jacobins in New York City lost much of the critical and radical thrust of their heritage, although some men like Evans later returned to it. In an article from September, 1830, in the Working Man's Advocate Evans indicated the direction of artisan radicalism after the failure of the Workingmen's party:

> We desire simply to find and to elect legislators who, when the interests of different classes appear to clash, will prefer that of a large majority to a small minority . . . .
>
> We want nothing exclusive, then: no combination of the poor against the rich, of laborer against the landholder, nor even of the non-privileged against the privileged. We only want to see The People unite for the preservation of their rights, and the promotion of their best interests. Bankers are a part of the people; lawyers a part of the people; the great monopolists are a part of the people--Their interests (not their

UMI

> privileges) ought to be consulted equally with those of the mechanic and working man--Equally we say: not especially or solely or at the expense of the interests of the millions, as it has been hitherto.[89]

In defining the people the Advocate had in effect abandoned the distinction between the producers and non-producers, opting rather for the inclusion of all groups while striving to achieve a just balance in their claims. This expanded definition drained the idea of the producers' republic of its radical content. The Advocate's view was similar to that of some leading Jacobin intellectuals in the early decades of the century. In sharp contrast, Skidmore had defined the producers' republic narrowly, concluding that the non-producers held property illegitimately because they created nothing. He reached his radical conclusion under the pressure of the inequality he saw around him. In suppressing his ideas the Jacobin tradition had resolved its crisis in the late 1820s by avoiding a direct attack on inequality and focusing instead on its political manifestations. The fight against paper money and monopoly in the 1830s was part of this shift in focus because it saw special interests unjustly using the state for their own advantage. Monopoly, in fact, replaced aristocracy as the chief enemy of labor leaders, particularly as they moved in and out of the Democratic party. Thus the coalitions of the former Workingmen with the Democrats during the 1830s were preceeded by a moderation of their political heritage well before the conflict over the U. S. Bank galvanized them into action for Jackson. Of course, inequality persisted despite the attacks on monoply and paper money.[90]

A fitting symbol of the predicament of the Jacobin tradition in the early 30s was a massive parade celebrating the overthrow of the French monarchy of Charles X in 1830. If unity could not be found in a positive program to attack domestic inequality then perhaps it would come from opposing an old-fashioned enemy like monarchy, even if a foreign one. One source attributes the parade's organization largely to the Jacksonian Democrats and the Workingmen's party, a combination foreshadowing the fate of the Workingmen after 1830. None other than ex-president James Monroe presided at the parade, and some thought it surpassed even those for the Constitution and the Erie Canal. The artisan trades were particularly prominent. On their float the chairmakers produced an armchair for the presiding officer; and, in a prophetic addition over the Erie Canal celebration, the manufacturers of steam engines constructed a boiler. The whole proceedings reflected nostalgia contrasted with such modern portents. As a final note, the parade's organizers sent a delegation to France to congratulate the deposers of the king; but it received a cool reception. Neither a new French revolution nor old symbols like ex-president Monroe would revitalize the Jacobin tradition. It required instead the revolt of the journeymen in the mid '30s when they organized unions in their own effort to fight inequality.[91]

UMI

FOOTNOTES

[1] See chapter one, part two; Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 88.

[2] See chapter three, parts one and three.

[3] Working Man's Advocate, February 20, 1830.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Working Man's Advocate, December 18, 1830; Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872 (University of Pittsburgh Press; published in England by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome, 1971), p. 367.

[6] Working Man's Advocate, December 18, 1830, "Labor of Females."

[7] National Trades' Union, August 9, 1834, as quoted in Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 60-61.

[8] The Man, January 17, 1835.

[9] Alan Dawley and Paul Faler, "Working-Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalism and Rebellion," Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4 (June, 1976), 470.

[10] Ibid., pp. 468-470; Paul Faler, "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," Labor History, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1974), 390-394.

[11] E. J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution 1789-1848 (A Mentor Book; New York: Times Mirror, 1962), pp. 249-250.

[12] Richard J. Twomey, "Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States 1790-1820" (unpublished

UMI

Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Northern Illinois University, 1974), p. 17.

[13] Ibid., pp. 3-4; Edward Pessen, Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1967), pp. 103-111; Foner, p. 88; Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 46-124.

[14] Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 540-545; Foner, pp. 256-257. As used here the Second Great Awakening ran intermittently from the late 1790s through 1837.

[15] The Beacon, February 3, 1838; Appendix 25; Working Man's Advocate, February 15, 1834; Albert Post, Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 76; for biographical information on the men mentioned see Hugins, pp. 81-111.

[16] Working Man's Advocate, March 6, 1830.

[17] Appendix 25; Working Man's Advocate, February 9, 1833; The Man, February 7, 1835. Immigrant societies and political organizations typically had dinners of this sort. See, for example, the annual dinner of the New England Society reported in the New York Daily Advertiser, December 26, 1825, and the Democratic victory dinners of April, 1839, reported in Leo Hershkowitz, "New York City, 1834-1840, A Study in Local Politics" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1960), p. 403.

[18] For the biographical information on these men see the following: On Carver see Post, pp. 221-223. On Offen see Post, pp. 32-33, 76-77. On Vale see Post, pp. 32-33, 48-49; Hugins, pp. 95-96. On Webb see Hugins, p. 95. On Houston see Post, p. 45. On Bussy see Ray Boston, British Chartists in America 1839-1900 (Totowa, N.J.: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp. 39, 89. On Evans see Post, p. 69; Hugins, pp. 85-88; Boston, pp. 49-56; Clifton K. Yearley, Jr., Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820-1914 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 36. Offen mentioned the English Paine celebrations in the Correspondent, February 2, 1828. On political repression in England see E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), pp. 503-521.

[19] See the biographical sources in the previous footnote.

[20] Working Man's Advocate, February 16, 1833.

[21] Appendix 25; Post, pp. 72, 87, 94-101, 187-193; Mark O. Kristler, "German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine," American Quarterly, XIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1962), 82-89; Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (New York: Atheneum, 1967), pp. 192-196, 200, note 43, 205-206; David Montgomery, "The Shuttle and the Cross: Weavers and Artisans in the Kensington Riots of 1844," Journal of Social History, V, No. 4 (Summer, 1972), 434.

[22] E. J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), p. 4.

[23] Foner, pp. 83-84; Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 2; Hugins, p. 95.

[24] Ibid., pp. 95-96; Post, pp. 48-49.

[25] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[26] Hugins, p. 83.

[27] Ibid., p. 95.

[28] John Frazee, "Autobiography of John Frazee, First American Sculptor, b. 1790, Rahway, New Jersey" (New York Public Library, typescript copied from the Marsh Papers at the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J., by H. A. Frazee, 1944), pp. 9-10.

[29] Ibid., pp. 12-13, 63A; the Beacon, November 16, 1839; Hugins, p. 100.

[30] The Correspondent, February 9, 1828.

[31] Working Man's Advocate, February 9, 1833.

[32] An Address to the Committee Appointed by a General Meeting of the Citizens of the City of New York, held at Tammany Hall, January 31, 1829, to Express their Sentiments on the Proposition of the Sunday Union and their Coadjutors to Stop the Transportation of the Mail and to Close the Post Offices on Sunday (Second edition, 1829), pp. 14-15; hereafter referred to as An Address to the Committee.

[33] See chapter three, part four; for toasts to Johnson see the Working Man's Advocate, February 19, 1833, and February 15, 1834.

[34] The Correspondent, February 3, 1827.

[35] *Working Man's Advocate*, February 6, 1830; Wood, p. 118.

[36] Thompson, p. 763. Richard Carlile was repeatedly toasted at the Paine celebrations as a persecuted champion of freethought in England; see, for example, the *Working Man's Advocate*, February 9, 1833.

[37] Thompson, p. 763.

[38] *An Address to the Committee*, p. 16. On Europeanization see David Montgomery, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780-1830," *Labor History*, IX, No. 1 (Winter, 1968), 10; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 49-51; John R. Commons, David J. Saposs, Helen L. Sumner, E. B. Mittelman, H. E. Hoagland, John B. Andrews, Selig Perlman, *History of Labour in the United States* (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), I, p. 305.

[39] Foner, p. 262.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[41] Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 46.

[42] Moncure Daniel Conway, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), I, p. 5.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-9; Conway, *Writings of Paine*, II, pp. 29-30; *Correspondent*, February 9, 1828; T. Robert Moseley, "A History of the New-York Manumission Society, 1785-1849" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1963), p. 285; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), pp. 268-269; Pessen, pp. 103-111; the four Paineites who signed the Manumission Society's petition were Edward M. Bond, Charles Offen, Francis Pares, and Henry C. Spicer; see Appendices 5 and 25.

[44] Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), p. 280.

[45] Howard B. Rock, "The American Revolution and the Mechanics of New York City: One Generation Later," *New York History*, LVII, No. 3 (July, 1976), 384.

UMI

[46] Rock, "Independent Mechanic," pp. 86-88, 98, 106-107, 278-280; Rock, *New York History*, LVII, No. 3, 392.

[47] Louis H. Arky, "The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations and the Formation of the Philadelphia Workingmen's Movement," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVI, No. 2 (April, 1952), 143-144; Maurice F. Neufeld, "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson," *Labor History*, X, No. 1 (Winter, 1969), 32-35.

[48] Arky, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVI, No. 2, 145.

[49] *Ibid*., pp. 143-146; Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 46-63.

[50] Neufeld, *Labor History*, X, No. 1, 8, 13; Neufeld underestimates the importance of the labor theory of value as a justification for the "economic and social primacy of the producing classes."

[51] *Working Man's Advocate*, March 13, 1830.

[52] Neufeld, *Labor History*, X, No. 1, 23; Twomey, pp. 138, 144, 164, 167; Rochester *Spirit of the Age* as quoted in *Working Man's Advocate*, March 13, 1830.

[53] *The Man*, April 4, 1834.

[54] See sources in footnote 38, especially Gutman; Foner, p. 96.

[55] Dawley, pp. 1-2, 9-10, 60-65; Twomey, pp. 9-10, 245-246; Foner, pp. 87-106, 264-265; Pessen, pp. 176-177; Edward Pessen, "Thomas Skidmore, Agrarian Reformer in the Early American Labor Movement," *New York History*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1954), 286; *The Radical*, April, 1843, p. 56.

[56] Dawley, p. 72.

[57] See chapter six, part three.

[58] Commons, *et al*., I, pp. 169-170, 223.

[59] *Ibid*., p. 169.

[60] *Ibid*., pp. 169-170, 223, 232-233, 274-275.

[61] Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians*, p. 3. Perhaps the unusual commitment of Philadelphia's economy to manufacturing helps explain the early rise of a city-wide union organization

UMI

there. Louis Arky also attributes a considerable role to William Heighton. See Arky, The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVI, No. 2, 142-176; Allan R. Pred, The Spatial Dynamics of United States Urban-Industrial Growth, 1800-1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), Table 4.3, p. 148.

[62] Rock, "Independent Mechanic," pp. 249, 300-301.

[63] The men are Thomas Asten, Adam Blackledge, William G. Boggs, George Bruce, Thomas Bussing, Richard F. Carman, Adoniram Chandler, Simon Clannon, William S. Conely, Peter C. Cortelyou, Clarkson Crolius, Sr., Joseph Curtis, John M. Dow, Paul M. P. Durando, Benjamin Farrington, James S. Greig, Henry G. Guyon, John Haff, William Harsell, Joseph C. Hart, Charles M. Holmes, Joseph Hoxie, Jonas Humbert, Samuel Judd, Jeremiah L. Knapp, John I. Labagh, Thomas B. Little, Richard Lyons, Cornelius McLean, Jonathan Marshall, Abner Mills, Isaac Minard, Joseph Mount, Stacey Pancoast, Joseph Parsons, George Paulding, Jacob Peterson, John Remick, Abraham B. Rich, Samuel Roome, Ephraim Scudder, Morgan L. Smith, Joseph C. Stanley, William H. Sweet, George B. Thorpe, Robert Townsend, Jr., William Tuthill, Robert Walker, Peter Wemmell, Isaac P. Whitehead, William W. Young.

[64] Hugins, p. 214.

[65] Ibid., pp. 118-123, Table XV, 207; Seymour Savetsky found the occupations of 63 of the 70 men on the party's General Executive Committee in 1830; 49 of the 63 were artisans; see his "The New York Working Men's Party" (unpublished M.A. essay, Department of History, Columbia University, 1948), n. 14, pp. 106-107.

[66] Ibid., p. 111.

[67] Free Enquirer, May 8, 1830, quoted in Savetsky, p. 118; Savetsky agrees with Owen, pp. 115-120.

[68] Commons, et al., I, pp. 175-179; Savetsky, pp. 115-120; Rock, "Independent Mechanic," p. 348.

[69] Commons, et al, I, pp. 267-269; Hugins, pp. 16, 21.

[70] Edward Pessen, "The Working Men's Party Revisited," Labor History, IX, No. 3 (Fall, 1963), 222.

[71] Pessen, New York History, XXXV, No. 3, 290.

[72] Ibid., pp. 284-289; Pessen, Labor History, IX, No. 3, 222-226; Commons, et al., I, pp. 245, 259; Hugins, pp. 131-132.

[73] Foner, p. 265.

[74] Thomas Skidmore, *Rights of Man to Property* (New York: printed by Alexander Ming, Jr., 1829), pp. 58-72, 165, 190; Commons, *et al*., I, pp. 234-235; Hugins, p. 131; Pessen, *New York History*, XXXV, No. 3, 286-287; Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians*, pp. 176-177.

[75] *The Radical*, January, 1842, pp. 8-9, April, 1843, pp. 50-52; Pessen, *Labor History*, IV, No. 3, 226; Pessen, *New York History*, XXXV, No. 3, 290.

[76] *Working Man's Advocate*, March 6, 1830; Hugins, p. 132.

[77] *The Man*, May 27 and August 28, 1834, as quoted in Hugins, pp. 132-133.

[78] Commons, *et al*., I, pp. 170, 274; John R. Commons, Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore, Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews, *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. V: *Labor Movement, 1820-1840* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), pp. 165-171; Hugins, p. 133; *Working Man's Advocate*, June 23, 1830.

[79] Commons, *et al*., *Documentary History*, V, p. 165.

[80] *Ibid*., pp. 165-166.

[81] *Ibid*., pp. 165-175; *Working Man's Advocate*, March 6, 1830; Commons, *et al*., *History of Labour*, I, pp. 259, 270-271; Pessen, *Labor History*, IV, No. 3, 221-222; Hugins, p. 16.

[82] New York *Sentinel and Working Man's Advocate*, June 23, 1830.

[83] Commons, et al., *History of Labour*, I, p. 268.

[84] Twomey, pp. 94-95; Commons, *et al*., *Documentary History*, V, pp. 175-176; Commons, *et al*., *History of Labour*, I, pp. 267-269, 274; Hugins, pp. 21, Table VIII, 125; this dissertation, chapter three, part two.

[85] Pessen, *Labor History*, IV, No. 3, 224.

[86] *Ibid*., pp. 224-225.

[87] Commons, *et al*., *History of Labour*, I, pp. 270-271.

[88] Hugins, p. 21, n. on 207; Commons, *et al*., *History of Labour*, pp. 270-271, 327, 331; Pessen, *Labor History*, IV, No. 3, 225.

UMI

[89] Working Man's Advocate, September 4, 1830.

[90] Twomey, p. 170; The Radical, February, 1843, p. 43. In this analysis of the Workingmen I disagree with the general interpretation of Walter Hugins, who sees one continuous movement from 1829 through 1837 culminating in the Locofocos. To him the ideas of the Locofocos characterized the essence of the whole movement. I see more discontinuity than continuity in the Workingmen's history and think Hugins reads the ideas of Locofocos like Leggett back into the early phases of the movement, which were distinctly different. Pessen says, for example, that "The essential independence of the early labor movement from the Jacksonian cause is illustrated not alone by how labor voted but also by the uniquely radical doctrines of its leaders, ..." And here Pessen is speaking of the '30s and not simply 1829. Commons sees discontinuity between the early and later phases of the movement: "With the breakup of the workingmen's parties during 1831 and 1832, the labour movement temporarily ceased." Hugins himself says that only in 1829 did the Workingmen's vote have a significant correlation with the lower class and that the earlier phases of their history were dominated by artisans and skilled craftsmen, in contrast to the Locofoco period, which "included the highest percentage of professional and clerical occupations, retail tradesmen and merchants." (pp. 124, 214) By considering the men in all the phases of the movement together it is easier for him to see them as "an occupational cross-section of the general population of New York City during the 'thirties." (p. 125) This characterization obscures the distinctive base of the Workingmen's party in the artisan community (see Table 4.1) and minimizes the significance of the revolt of the journeymen in the '30s, which divided that community and helped make the Equal Rights party just a faction of the Democrats instead of a real party in its own right. The "producers" could not be politically united to the degree they had been in 1829. I think his evidence on the high number of leaders of the early movement still active in the Locofoco period speaks mainly for the leadership, while the artisan constituency was undergoing changes which I have tried to analyze in chapter six on traditionalists and the labor empire. (pp. 120-121) Overall I disagree with Hugins' inclusion of the rebel artisans in his general description of the movement: "The New York Workingmen's movement represented an effort on the part of these mechanics and small businessmen to further the democratization of this capitalist society, making more of its fruits available to all. Though often stating their demands in radical language, these men were expressing, not a proletarian animosity to the existing order, but the desire for equal opportunity to become capitalists themselves." (pp. 219-220) As I have described them here, I think the Workingmen in 1829 and 1830 were neither

middle-class nor proletarian, but rebel artisans with a distinctive culture and politics. See Hugins, pp. 11-12, 24, 35-36, 121-122, 146-147, 215-224; generally note chapters 1, 2, 3, and 9; Edward Pessen, "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jacksonian Era," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII (1956-57), 440; Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, p. 335.

[91] Alvin F. Harlow, Old Bowery Days: The Chronicles of a Famous Street (New York: D. Appleton and Co., MCMXXVI), p. 281; Charles H. Haswell, Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York (1816 to 1860) (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1897), p. 249; Working Man's Advocate, November 27, December 4, 1830; Grant Thorburn, Life and Writings of Grant Thorburn: Prepared by Himself (New York: Edward Walker, 1852), p. 122.

PART II. REFORM IN A NEW ERA: THE 1830S

UMI

CHAPTER V

ABOLITION IN NEW YORK CITY: IMMEDIATISM AND ITS CONSTITUENCY

I

Abolition in the 1830s overshadowed other moral reforms in New York City and the nation and made slavery a political question which the major parties could not avoid, even though they tried to suppress it. After the failure of gradual emancipation by the late '20s, evangelicals took over the leadership of the antislavery movement, turning it dramatiaclly toward immediate abolition. British abolition of slavery in the Caribbean gave them hope and a successful program which promised to cut through the maze of problems which had defeated previous reformers. Inspired by this example, the power of their own mission societies, and the massive revivals of the period, America's evangelical abolitionists set out to convert the nation to immediately end its greatest sin. Yet the British example and American evangelical reforms were inadequate guides to abolishing an institution deeply embedded in the economic and political systems of the country. Instead of leading a united evangelical front against slavery, abolitionists divided their religious friends and enraged powerful institutions like the political parties, which saw them as threats to the sectional compromises required for the unity and stability of the country. Isolated from political

UMI

power and their more conservative evangelical associates, they turned to aggressive agitation to change public opinion on slavery and sought support wherever they could. As their petitions from New York City indicate, they found it partly in the antislavery constituency that existed before they took over leadership of the cause. It included old gradual emancipationists with whom they disagreed on policy and radical artisans with whom they fought over most religious and political questions. These men began to join the evangelical abolitionists in reaction to popular violence against the cause and in defense of civil liberties. The events of the 1830s helped bring together the evangelicals and the earlier antislavery constituency in the city.

When William Lloyd Garrison began preaching immediate abolition in the first issue of the Liberator on January 1, 1831, he challenged an antislavery movement in New York that had been dominated by the New York Manumission Society and by state and local colonization organizations. The Manumission Society had already begun to withdraw from the movement after 1829, but the colonization societies were experiencing a rebirth of activity. When the American Colonization Society was formed in 1817, auxiliaries were quickly established in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York City, all with the sole purpose of aiding the national society colonize free blacks. Thus, like the American Convention, discussed in chapter two, the Colonization Society found support in the reform circles of large eastern cities.[1]

UMI

New York's auxiliary was formed on October 29, 1817, by "men prominently associated with benevolent associations," although like the other local societies it soon "sank into quiescence."[2] The New York City society revived in 1823, only to split over where to send the emigrants. Under the direction of Rev. James Milnor it began again in 1827; in the same year Gerrit Smith, the wealthy New York philanthropist, pledged $1000 to the national society payable in installments of $100 a year if 99 others would follow his lead. These efforts by New Yorkers were part of the reinvigoration of the national society under the leadership of Ralph R. Gurley, its new secretary; striving to make colonization into a truly national reform, he had begun publishing the society's paper, the African Repository, in 1825. The rejuvenated colonization movement did not go unopposed, however. Just as free blacks had opposed the American Colonization Society in 1817, so they also objected to the revitalized movement of the late '20s. Their opposition in New York was led by Rev. Samuel Cornish, a black Presbyterian minister, who began publishing the Freedom's Journal on March 16, 1827, in part as an effort to fight colonization. Cornish saw colonization as a "safety valve" for slavery, permitting it to remove "free blacks and supernumeraries."[3] The opposition of New York's free blacks to colonization continued through the 1830s, forming a critical element in the antislavery debates.[4]

Both Arthur and Lewis Tappan, future leaders of immediate abolition in the city, supported the colonization

UMI

movement in 1828. In that year Lewis devised a detailed plan for the organization of state colonization societies after the national society saw a need for such organizations. Arthur pledged money to the national society in response to Gerrit Smith's initiative and supported the effort to send a recently enslaved African prince, Abduhl Rahahman, back to Africa as a way of bringing the blessings of commerce, civilization, and Christianity to "that benighted region."[5] The Rev. James Milnor, the power behind the reinvigorated New York City Colonization Society, joined with Tappan in this enterprise. The project fell through, however, when Rahahman and his associate died of fever shortly after arrival. In addition, Arthur Tappan became disillusioned with the colonizationists' Liberian colony, especially after he heard accounts of the rum trade there. By 1830 he had withdrawn his matching pledge to the American Colonization Society, although he did not publicly renounce colonization until several years later. Thus while the New York Manumission Society was sponsoring petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia in early 1829, the Tappans were more interested in colonization. Neither brother signed the society's petitions.[6]

At the same time that the New York Manumission Society was withdrawing from the field after the failure of the national petition campaign, especially in the South, colonization in New York State began to flourish, attracting increased public attention. In April, 1829, Isaac Orr, an agent of the American Colonization Society organized a New

York State auxiliary with the sole aim of aiding the national society in colonizing free blacks in Africa. Although the free blacks of New York City and Philadelphia once again voiced their opposition to colonization, Orr found considerable support at the annual May meetings of the mission societies of the evangelical benevolent empire in New York. He even thought that "New York is to be the chief foundation of our future resources, and future prosperity," although he was disappointed with the amount of money he raised there.[7] Others tried to tap New York's wealth for colonization, including Joshua Leavitt, a future leader of immediate abolition.[8]

By the end of 1829 the antislavery movements in both England and America were at a "turning point," according to David Brion Davis:

> In both countries the truculence and stubborn opposition of slaveholders to even gradualist reforms brought a sense of despair and indignation to the antislavery public. To some degree immediatism was the creation of the British and American slaveholders themselves . . . . The sense of crisis between 1829 and 1831 was also accentuated by an increasing militancy of Negroes, both slave and free. In 1829 David Walker hinted ominously of slave revenge; groups of free Negroes openly repudiated the colonization movement . . . .[9]

Davis could have added that the nullification crisis in America contributed to the sense of an intransigent South. Yet, immediatism was not the only response to this crisis; despair over the failure of gradual emancipation aided colonization, apparently the only option for those who could not envision the incorporation of blacks into American life.

Events accelerated in the next two years. In 1830 Charles G. Finney brought the "Great Revival" to New York City.

UMI

Under his influence the Tappans founded the New York Evangelist and aided the formation of the Third Presbytery, a group of free mission churches designed to reach the masses of newcomers to the city, particularly New Englanders, who were unlikely to attend the more conservative Presbyterian churches with their doctrinal formality and pew rents. The churches of the Third Presbytery later became organizing centers for abolitionists. Then on January 1, 1831, Garrison began publication of the Liberator in Boston. Eleven days later, on the initiative of the state colonization society, the New York City Colonization Society was reorganized and rejuvenated. Among the forty officers and managers of the reorganized society were four former members of the New York Manumission Society, including William L. Stone, chairman of the society's committee on antislavery petitions in 1829, publisher of the Commercial Advertiser, and future opponent of immediate abolition. The city's free blacks lost no time in calling a meeting which condemned the reorganized city colonization society for promoting prejudice.[10]

Also in January, 1831, the Tappans showed signs of taking an independent course, distinct from many of their former associates in evangelical reform. Along with fifty-five other men they signed a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia. The composition of its signers foreshadowed the constituency of the antislavery movement in the later '30s. There were few merchants besides the Tappans and none of their friends in the "Association of Gentlemen" joined them: "Humorless, shrewd, and wealthy, these /"Gentlemen"/ were mostly men from rural Connecticut in the mercantile and banking trades . . . . they were pious nouveaux riches."[11] They typically had united with the Tappans in evangelical projects like the New York City Tract Society. Now, however, they were more likely to support colonization.[12] The Tappans were not without elite support however. The signers included Alfred Edwards, a member of the prestigious New England Society and a founder of the New York City Tract Society. Another prominent signer was Loring D. Dewey, who reorganized the New York City Colonization Society in 1823. Even with this elite backing, however, most of the signers were professionals and artisans.[13]

Although professionals had traditionally participated actively in benevolent causes, several of them were distinctive. As noted in chapter two, the professionals usually prominent in philanthropic organizations were of high status, typically doctors and lawyers, whose membership in numerous such societies was part of the accepted duty of their class. One of the six professionals signing the petition, Dr. John Stearns, was of this type: he was a founding member of the New York City Tract Society, a manager of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, a leader of the New England Society, a member of the New York Manumission Society, and a signer of the 1827 Sunday-mail petition. On the other hand, two of the professionals--William Goodell and Phineas Crandall--derived their livelihood from reform itself as editors of the Genius of Temperance. They represented a new

UMI

type of professional reformer who developed in the 1830s, one for whom reform itself was a vocation and not a part time social obligation. Abolition depended heavily on such men.[14]

Nevertheless, typical of most antislavery petitions in the later '30s, artisans were the largest group among the signers. Most were probably masters since three of the eight were members of the elite General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, and another joined later.[15] Two of the artisans were Joseph Brewster and Charles Starr, men of high standing in their trades, who had led the hatters and bookbinders in the Erie Canal Parade, signed the 1827 Sunday-mail petition, and fought with the radical George Henry Evans over the special mission church for young mechanics in 1830.[16] Thus they were congenial to evangelical causes. Another artisan signer, Robert Townsend, Jr., a carpenter and member of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, had a varied political history. He was a leader of the conservative Cook faction of the Workingmen's party and participated actively in the union movement of the mid 1830s as a representative of the Journeyman House Carpenters' Union. His commitment to that group was questioned, however, because he did not belong during its formative strike in 1833 which led to the organization of the General Trades' Union. Politically Townsend moved from the Workingmen through the Antimasons to the Whigs and then to the Locofoco faction, which successfully supported him for a term in the New York State Assembly in conjunction with the Whigs. Thus at this early date the artisans who supported the Tappans in the antislavery cause were probably

UMI

prestigious masters of a more conservative and evangelical bent, even when they were associated with the radical politics of the Workingmen's movement.[17] Most important, however, seeing Brewster, Starr, and Townsend together with the Tappans, the more radical, freethinking artisans among the Workingmen could understandably associate the abolitionists with the "Church and State Party" that they fought in the Sunday-mail campaign and in the factional fights within the Workingmen's party itself.[18]

In sum, the petition from January, 1831, relied on men with backgrounds in evangelical and reform causes; but they were a distinctive group among men of this type. Merchants, for example, ranked third among the signers, whereas in the 1827 Sunday-mail petition they were the largest occupational group. Like the Association of Gentlemen, the city's elite reformers were more interested in colonization if they were concerned with the slavery issue at all. Predominantly artisans, the reform-minded citizens who did sign were nevertheless familiar with Tract Societies and Sunday-mail petitions. The Tappans would later try to win over the more prestigious reform constituency but with little success.

This petition of January, 1831, was just a small incident in a year packed with momentous events for abolition, including English antislavery successes and Nat Turner's rebellion in August, which reopened the debate on slavery in Virginia. Meanwhile the Tappans continued their journey toward immediatism. In June, along with Garrison and Simeon S. Jocelyn, a young Congregational minister of a black church,

UMI

Arthur went to the First Annual Convention of People of Color in Philadelphia, where he learned first hand of the antipathy of free blacks to colonization. Nevertheless, African colonization had been endorsed in April by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and in May by a meeting of New York City's clergy. Tappan must have had further qualms about the hierarchy of his church beyond those stimulated by Finney's revivalism. At the same meeting in Philadelphia Arthur discussed a national antislavery organization and backed a plan of Jocelyn's to form a black college near Yale which would help train black antislavery leaders. In response angry townspeople stoned Tappan's home in New Haven, giving him his first experience with an anti-abolitionist mob. At this time Lewis Tappan was proceeding to immediate abolition more slowly, mainly through intermittent conversations with Theodore Dwight Weld.[19]

Another event, seemingly extraneous, affected the context in which the antislavery movement operated in New York City: "In the middle of the summer of 1831, the trustees of the Magdalen Society published a general account of Manhattan prostitution . . . . Conservatives thought it was deliberate pornography, city boosters protested that it was slanderous to New York's good name, and politicians of Tammany Hall condemned it as a conspiracy of clerical do-gooders."[20] The Church and State party seemed to be on the offensive again, and evangelical religion remained an issue in New York City's politics. Rallies were organized, law suits proposed, and the mobbing of the Tappan brothers' New York City residences discussed. The leaders of the opposition combined conservative aristocrats, Tammany leaders, and free thinkers--a similar coalition to that which fought the Sunday-mail campaign. General Robert Bogardus, who had been prominent in opposing the Sabbatarians, officiated at an anti-Magdalen meeting, "a post he later occupied during an anti-abolitionist riot as well."[21] Joining in were leaders like Preserved Fish, who had chaired the anti-Sunday-mail meetings, and James Watson Webb, the editor of Tammany's Morning Courier and subsequently the city's most vocal anti-abolitionist. Free thinkers like Francis Wright combined with Tammany Hall in opposing the evangelicals, thus helping to bind the remnants of the Workingmen's party to the Jacksonian wing of the Democratic party. These past conflicts with the Church and State party colored the city's reaction to the organization of the evangelicals' New York City Anti-Slavery Society in October, 1833.[22]

The polemics between abolitionists and colonizationists had also grown more heated, particularly after a widespread colonizationist attack which began in November, 1832. In February, 1833, Robert S. Finley, the American Colonization Society's executive secretary, attacked abolitionist arguments against colonization in a public lecture in New York City, singling out Goodell's Genius of Temperance in particular. He continued speaking throughout the spring and summer, calling the abolitionists incendiary, among other things. For their part, Arthur Tappan and his abolitionist associates sent an open letter in March, 1833, to Ralph R. Gurley, secretary of the American Colonization Society, asking critical questions about the society's policies and goals. The society's response made it clear that it did not officially favor emancipation in the United States and that it thought free blacks would really be better off outside the country. The abolitionists made polemical capital of these answers. Also in March they issued the prospectus for the Emancipator, a new paper devoted solely to abolition. Public debates between abolitionists and colonizationists continued throughout May and June.[23]

Although taking an aggressive stand in its polemics, the American Colonization Society was in deep financial crisis by the summer of 1833. Not only had it apparently mismanaged its funds; the Liberian colony suffered from a reputation for immorality, promoted, of course, by the abolitionists. In October, the same month in which the New York City Anti-Slavery Society was founded, both the New York City and the New York State Colonization Societies bypassed the national society completely, sending emigrants to Africa themselves and threatening to set up their own colonies there if the one in Liberia did not meet their moral criteria, especially for temperance. The revelation of the national society's $40,000 debt at this annual meeting in January, 1834 caused the New York State Colonization Society irreparable damage. Already fractured by the accusations of the abolitionists, the state

UMI

society suffered wholesale desertions. It soon withered completely, leaving leadership of the colonizationist cause in the state to the New York City society. In 1834 the city society helped reorganize the national society, taking from it control over the provision for emigrants, its most important function. Then, in the same year, the New York City society and the Pennsylvania Colonization Society formed their own separate organization and set up the colony of Bassa Cove in Liberia according to their specifications. The national society had been emasculated, leaving the state and local societies to pursue their own policies. Thus the national colonization movement was disintegrating in the critical years of 1833 and 1834 when organized abolition was entering the field.[24]

In the fall of 1833 Arthur Tappan began preparations for a New York antislavery society by confering with friends, distributing copies of the Emancipator, and even sending Garrison to England to speak with antislavery forces there. Among his close collaborators were three black ministers--Theodore S. Wright, Peter Williams, and Samuel Cornish--as well as professional reformers like Joshua Leavitt, editor of the New York Evangelist; William Goodell, editor of the Genius of Temperance; Rev. George Bourne, editor of the anti-Catholic Protestant Vindicator, and Charles Denison, editor of the Emancipator. These men decided that the moment was ripe after news that the British Parliament had voted for the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies reached the city in

UMI

September. The response to their call for an organizational meeting to be held on October 2 at Clinton Hall was vitrolic. Garrison's recent return from England did not help the abolitionists' public image, since he had made some anti-American remarks there which followed him across the Atlantic, grating on patriotic sensibilities. New York's papers also reissued their accusations against the Church and State party. The hostile reaction induced the trustees of Clinton Hall to close it to the meeting and censure their fellow, Arthur Tappan, for leasing it to the abolitionists in the first place. The meeting was rescheduled for Chatham Street Chapel, one of the Free Presbyterian Churches and future home of an active anti-slavery society. The news of the new meeting place traveled by word of mouth among abolitionists while James Watson Webb of the Courier and Enquirer, Ralph R. Gurley of the Colonization Society, and others distributed notices "urging 'patriots' to assemble at Clinton Hall."[25] When a mob gathered that evening, the hall was empty; so the crowd moved to Tammany Hall where Robert Bogardus chaired a meeting at which speakers violently denounced the abolitionists. Meanwhile, "A short distance away, the abolitionists hurried through their business of adopting a constitution and electing officers, with Arthur Tappan, of course, chosen president. Just then, rioters were heard storming up the street."[26] The abolitionists quickly left, mostly through the back door; and there were no serious injuries.[27]

The next day only the Journal of Commerce, originally founded by the Tappans, and Evans' Working Man's Advocate expressed "mild regret at the disturbance" while the city's other papers lauded the rioters.[28] Within a week a large public meeting addressed by the mayor condemned the abolitionists. Some accused them of promoting "amalgamation" of the races. In addition, "Ministers in the city joined with the colonizationists in referring to abolitionists as firebrands, incendiaries, and cut-throats."[29] The abolitionists were alarmed by the united and powerful opposition, especially because it was not simply against their policies but even against their right to express them. Garrison made a spirited counterattack against the colonizationist editors, James Watson Webb and William L. Stone. "Garrison rejoiced in their accusation that abolitionists were the same evangelical party that urged Sabbath, temperance, and anti-vice reforms . . . ."[30] Thus opponents of abolition readily concluded that the New York City Anti-Slavery Society was just another appearance of the hydraheaded Church and State party which had plagued them in the past. In response to this opposition, the more moderate abolitionists around the Tappans issued an extended and reasoned statement of their position, which for some, at least, succeeded in making them appear as cautious reformers afflicted by violent opponents. A close look at the _Address of The New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, to the People of the City of New York_ reveals the contemporary state of mind of the New York abolitionists.[31]

The address attacked colonization, defined immediate abolition, and preached the voluntary means for its achievement, all with the aim of converting the "wise and good"--

conservative, reasonable men of evangelical and philanthropic sentiments.[32] Hence the attack on colonization was directed particularly at reformers who hoped it would lead to gradual emancipation. The address noted, for example, that if only the free blacks were expatriated--the official position of colonization--the slave regime would be strengthened, not weakened. On the other hand, if the natural increase of the slave population were colonized, an impractical project anyway, the remaining slaves would become too valuable to give up. In 1829 the New York Manumission Society had made just such a proposal on the grounds that the constantly declining proportion of slaves in the southern states would permit a confident white majority to gradually abolish the institution, ostensibly on the model of New York and Pennsylvania. This whole polemical thrust was buttressed by manifold arguments on the impracticality and brutality of the whole endeavor. But most of all, the address attacked colonization as based on prejudice.[33]

The address boldly stated that "our principal objection against expatriation is that it is founded in PREJUDICE against a part of this nation, on account of the shade which the Creator has given to their complexion."[34] Prejudice was the only real argument for colonization, but it was both irrational and immoral. Here abolitionists struck the central issue. Colonizationists may have agreed that prejudice was immoral; but they accepted it as an unalterable fact of white society, just as they accepted it as fact that slaves could not be transformed into solid and respectable citizens.

For both reasons they would never be accepted into white society and were thus better off in Africa. The colonizationists were conservatives and gradualists at home in a stable, hierarchial order, who could not imagine a social transformation so profound as to abolish slavery and make blacks an integral part of American life. The abolitionists could. As George M. Fredrickson states, "The view that Christian brotherhood was actually and immediately attainable was thus the key to the abolitionist view of race relations."[35] The Second Great Awakening helped teach the abolitionists that a moral revolution fundamentally altering white prejudice was possible. It also fostered the hope that blacks could be "elevated" and reformed to deserve white acceptance. The constitution of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society dared to dedicate the organization to elevating "the character and condition of the people of color" and to obtaining "for our colored fellow-citizens an equality with whites of civil and religious privileges."[36] The transformation of blacks was the key, for if they could be made deserving of respect, then the irrationality of prejudice would become obvious and the elimination of white prejudice more feasible. Thus, as had happened in the revolutionary era, the conflicts between abolitionists and their enemies became focused on race, particularly on "the Negro's supposed incapacity for freedom."[37]

David Brion Davis argues that this direction of the argument "obscured the national interests served by slavery."[38] In the revolutionary era, according to Davis, "the 'reality' that weakened antislavery ideology had less to do with race *per se* than with the discipline of a potentially disruptive lowest class."[39] Rather than racial distinctions, "The reformers feared, above all else, the kind of uncontrolled behavior they already associated with unruly whites . . . . The really serious question, which had nothing to do with racial characteristics, was whether emancipated slaves would greatly augment this intractable population?"[40] Both reformers and their opponents feared they would unless changed into something better: "Here, one suspects, is the true 'reality' of race: cheerful and willing-minded laborers. The success of emancipation would not depend on the Negro's capacity for liberty, but on finding a substitute for the labor discipline of slavery."[41] Since these same problems remained in the 1830s, one can see in the debate between abolitionists and colonizationists a disagreement over whether such a substitute labor discipline existed. In their address in 1833 the New York abolitionists foresaw one, built out of the law, free labor, and Christian benevolence. Their whole policy of immediate abolition presupposed this new discipline; without it immediatism would never have appealed to their audience of conservative and reasonable men.

In an abstract sense immediate abolition was easy enough to understand. It was first of all a rejection of gradual emancipation, the dream of finely calibrated social adjustments that had entranced reformers for the last sixty years while the slave population quadrupled.[42] Stated positively immediate emancipation meant "that all property of man in man should instantly cease;--that the right of all men to a fair recompense for their labor should be practically as well as theoretically admitted; and that all the people of these United States should be equally secured in the possession of the 'unalienable rights' recognized in the Declaration of Independence, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"[43] But the problem of defining immediate abolition was minimal compared to projecting what would happen afterwards. The slaves could not be allowed to run riot. Another definition almost immediately after the one given above stated, "By immediate emancipation, therefore, we mean that measures shall be immediately taken to deliver the slave from the arbitrary will of the master, and place him under the salutary restraints and protection of law."[44] The law had curative powers which would help the freedmen overcome the degradation caused by the master's arbitrary despotism.

To the abolitionists the arbitrary and despotic rule of the master destroyed the possibility of moral life for the slaves. They lived therefore in total degradation. The problem was not simply that the master could sell a slave's family, sexually exploit his wife, or deny him the Bible; the fundamental issue was that the slave could not exercise his own free will--the precondition of moral life--because he was totally dependent on the master. As Davis states, "The immediatist, . . . put his faith in the innate moral capacities of the individual. He felt that unless stifling and coercive influences were swept away, there could be no development of the inner controls of conscience, emulation, and self-respect,

UMI

on which a free and Christian society depended."[45] The New York abolitionists envisioned a society of free moral agents, that is, self-disciplined individuals who exercised free choice and independence within the limits of the law. The free but self-disciplined individual was the basis of the moral and republican order. In part, slavery was so detestable, according to George M. Fredrickson, because it was "incompatible with the fundamental abolitionist belief that every man was morally responsible for his actions. It was a unique case of determinism and predestination in a world allegedly composed of free men who were personally responsible for their own moral character and social situation."[46] In threatening freedom and self-discipline slavery challenged the individualistic and moralistic "view of society that was triumphing in the 1830s."[47]

The abolitionists thought that the law and free labor would give the emancipated slaves the necessary freedom to exercise self-discipline while restricting and uplifting them. Thus the address assured its audience, "So far are we, therefore, from seeking to turn loose an ungovernable horde of blacks, to prey upon society, that our sole design is to have them transferred from despotism to the control of law, providing for their regular employment, encouraging their industry, preventing idleness, punishing vagrancy, and securing their just compensation; leaving them to labor on the soil where most of them were born, and in the employments to which they are both fixed and accustomed . . . ."[48] Instead of inundating the North, therefore, the freed slaves would stay in the South, where the law and free labor would transform them into solid citizens. The law and free labor were part of the solution to the basic problem of emancipation--how to keep the freedmen from augmenting a rebellious lower class living in "idleness" and "vagrancy."

Free labor was particularly crucial. Reassuring whites of the safety of immediate emancipation, as well as of the fact that the freedmen would remain in the South, the New York abolitionists said: "The necessity of subsistence, and the attachments to home, and to the family, would lead the blacks to seek employment where they live; while their labor would be just as necessary to the planters as before. Society, instead of being dissolved by the disruption of half its members, would be more firmly knit together, by the ties of mutual dependence, and the only cause of distrust and vengeance would be forever removed."[49] Notably the New York abolitionists saw no "cause of distrust and vengeance" in a society based on free labor; neither did they see illegitimate coercion in the "necessity of subsistence" insuring that the freedmen would work. As they attacked slavery the abolitionists defended and helped to justify the expansive free labor economy of the North as well as its transformation of American society.[50] Yet where a modern interpreter might see new kinds of order and repression replacing older ones, the abolitionists saw freedom versus despotism. Free labor was the proper and legitimate relation between employer and employee and thus an indictment of southern slavery where, "No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the 'human brute' . . . ."[51] Even more it would teach the independence and self-discipline which were the moral preconditions of true republican citizenship. One senses in the abolitionists' description of Haiti the future they foresaw for the freedmen living under the law and free labor: "There are no paupers, except the decrepid and aged. The people are charitable, hospitable and kind, very respectful to foreigners, temperate, orderly, easily governed, and good mechanics."[52]

Evangelical religion was the third means for making the slaves into self-disciplined citizens and dependable workers. Abolition was part of the same evangelical movement which had previously used Sabbatarianism to try to impose a moral order on New York City, particularly by making wayward and rebellious "young mechanics" into frugal and reliable employees. Thus the address indicted the South for making it "next to impossible that there should be a general diffusion of Christianity in a slave-holding state" and for declaring it a "penal offense to teach a slave to read the Holy Scriptures, to give him a tract, or a copy of the Bible."[53] The South's opposition to Christian benevolence not only hindered the performance of a Christian duty but also frustrated one of the steps which would insure that emancipation would be peaceful and the slaves orderly. The New York abolitionists were sure that, "The more slaves are enlightened and christianized, the better they will appreciate the folly, as well as madness, of attempting to seize upon their rights through the blood and flames of a servile war."[54] Of course, the abolitionists saw no hypocrisy in their benevolent campaign: spreading the

Christian gospel was a duty and noble calling with beneficent social consequences, particularly in this instance, for the transformation of the slaves into reliable citizens. In this light one can see the huge abolitionist effort to send tracts to the South in 1835 as the first step not only in converting the masters but also in preparing the slaves for orderly emancipation.

Besides attacking colonization and defining immediate abolition--including the transformation of the slaves it presupposed--the address of the New York abolitionists also preached the voluntary means to reach its goal. Like all the proposals in the address, voluntary emancipation was a combination of practical necessity and Christian duty. The address simply saw no alternative to it except the elimination of one race or the other. In addition, although its spirit was against slavery, the Constitution precluded federal action, leaving to the states "the honor of terminating slavery within their respective bounds."[55] Thus appeals to the slaveholding public to free their slaves voluntarily were the best hope of success. Even more important, however, voluntary emancipation inherently appealed to the abolitionists, who disparaged politics: "While engaged in a purely benevolent work we will not suffer the reproach of being actuated by political views."[56] In their sense of a "purely benevolent" enterprise which would change the fundamental opinions of the slaveholders one clearly senses the impact of the Second Great Awakening on the New York abolitionists. As a group they were deeply influenced by revivalism; and the voluntarism, perfectionism, and millennialism of the Awakening make more understandable the apparently naive hopes for converting the South.[57]

Nevertheless, before dismissing these practically-minded men as mere visionaries, one should analyze the medium through which they foresaw this moral reformation taking place--public opinion. Evangelicals had already recognized its force in the Sunday-mail campaign and hoped to convert it to Sabbath observance. Similarly, as a revival relied heavily on the common feeling of the group for its success with individuals so the New York abolitionists relied on public opinion to bring individual slaveholders to voluntary emancipation. They had already seen public opinion successfully stop the slave trade in England; and they hoped for even more in republican America, where they aimed "to bring back the public sentiment, concerning slavery, to the healthy state of the first days of the republic; and restore the abolition principles of Franklin, Jefferson, Rush, Jay, and others . . . ."[58] Thus American public opinion had been correct on slavery once before and it could be so again. Public opinion was more fundamental than politics and could intercede where constitutional limitations stopped the government. Thus it permitted the New York abolitionists to disdain politics while hoping for momentous political influence. A product of the era's revolutions in transportation and communication, public opinion was like a new force in the world to the abolitionists, along with evangelical religion and modern industry: "We have seen the republics of the New World liberated from a foreign yoke by the power of public opinion, Greece made free, France revolutionized, Great-Britain reformed, Slavery abolished in the West Indies. Should liberal principles be diffused as rapidly in twenty years to come, as they have advanced in twenty years past, who can believe that the year 1850 will find four million persons held in bondage in republican America?"[59] Hence the New York abolitionists could proudly proclaim that in achieving voluntary emancipation the "only power to be employed is that of a reformed public opinion."[60] Notably, therefore, they were not converting individuals but public opinion which would bring erring individuals into line.

In contrast to traditional ideas of popular representation, public opinion was an intermediary force that was neither the people nor their government, although it ruled with a democratic authority as it influenced both. While presupposing a democratic context, the rule of public opinion had certain undemocratic implications. Who constituted the public? Was there only one? If so, was it necessarily the majority? How did it arrive at its opinions? How did it express them? There were no certain answers to these questions. Yet this very vagueness was an aid to reformers who could define "virtuous citizens" as the public and speak in their name as they tried to enforce moral opinions on everyone.[61] The Sunday-mail campaign was such a reform effort; and the Sabbatarians only retreated in the face of persistent and sometimes violent opposition, concluding that they had more work to do shaping public opinion. The concept of a malleable public opinion was profoundly important to reformers, justifying their hopes that even while a minority they could use it to change the nation. The New York abolitionists in 1833 addressed, therefore, not only a public of the "wise and good" but also "those who lead public opinion," like newspapermen, preachers, and educators.[62] Since immediate emancipation required first of all an effort to mobilize national public opinion, the New York abolitionists set out to convert it through its leaders.

The results of their effort were reflected in a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia that they submitted to Congress in January, 1834, soon after publishing their address. Professionals were the largest group among the 186 signers whose occupation could be determined, a fact typical of only one other among the thirteen such petitions from New York City submitted before 1840. Agents of benevolent societies and editors were unusually prominent. Significantly, a higher proportion of editors signed this petition than any other, except for the small petition of January, 1831. Given the evangelical character of most of their papers, one might see these men as primarily representatives of the benevolent empire, except that they were also opinion leaders, the ones most directly accessible to the New York abolitionists. And at least two of the editors represented newspapers not directly committed to evangelical reform--the Journal of Commerce and the New York American. In addition, the abolitionists induced the President of Columbia College to sign, as well as a "vice-chancellor," presumably of the same institution. These representatives of the "wise and good", at least, must have found the address to the citizens of New York reassuring. Typically, lawyers, doctors and ministers were also well represented. In all, the professionals were well placed to help shape public opinion.[63]

The prominence of the other signers not only put them in a similar position but, most important, also reflected the effort of the New York abolitionists to appeal to the traditional elite reformers who had avoided their petition of 1831. In fact, their whole address had been directed at this constituency and apparently with some success. Merchants, for example, constituted by far a larger proportion of the signers of the 1834 memorial than any of the other thirteen antislavery petitions. In the proportion of merchant signers this petition was more like the Sunday-mail petition of 1827. In contrast, this was the only petition in which artisans ranked third whereas they were usually the largest occupational group; they were not so prominent among the "wise and good." Indicative of the wealth and prominence of all the signers, this petition had the lowest proportion of men who could _not_ be found in the Directories. The abolitionists could have appealed to a less prestigious group, as the petition of 1831 demonstrated; but now they addressed a different audience, composed particularly of men able to shape the public opinion of the "virtuous citizens" whom they saw as their constituency.[64]

When they submitted their petition in January, 1834, the New York abolitionists could look ahead with some confidence. They had just helped organize the American Anti-

Slavery Society in Philadelphia, all of whose executive committee was composed of New Yorkers.[65] Although it had not been rigorously tested, their strategy of converting public opinion appeared promising, especially in the light of British success with it. Their rival benevolent groups were either not even competing or suffering from financial scandal and division. Five members of the New York Manumission Society had joined them in signing their recent petition, including Peter A. Jay, son of John Jay, one of its most prominent leaders.[66] January, 1834, was also the same month in which the revelation of the debt at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society signaled the disintegration of the New York State Colonization Society and the beginning of an independent course for the New York City society. To add to their hopes, four officers or managers of the reorganized New York City Colonization Society of 1831 had signed their petition, one of whom was William A. Duer, the president.[67] Clearly the New York abolitionists had the initiative on the slavery issue, if not the sympathy of the then reigning public opinion, much less the overwhelming majority of colonizationists. Yet changing public opinion was their forte, and they set about it with resolve and even millennial hope.

II

The spring and summer of 1834 saw the beginnings of local antislavery organization in New York City and a riot that changed the character of the movement. In the spring

Lewis Tappan began organizing on the familiar ground of the Third Presbytery. With the aid of men like William Green, Henry G. Ludlow, and Samuel H. Cox he established two antislavery groups--the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Chatham-Street Chapel and the New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. In their first year the Young Men proclaimed slavery a sin, sponsored a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, published and distributed antislavery tracts, helped support Theodore Dwight Weld as a lecturer, and ran a free school, Sunday School, and Bible class for blacks. One should not assume, however, that the Third Presbytery was united behind antislavery. In July, '34, members of a white Sacred Music Society using the Chatham Street Chapel helped start the riot when they objected to the use of the church by blacks on the night scheduled for their practice. For almost a week afterwards the city was rocked by a riot that inflicted heavy damage on abolitionists and free blacks alike, requiring in the end the calling of the militia. While the details of this riot will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, it is necessary here to analyze its consequences for the abolitionist movement.[68]

Taking a long view, William Goodell thought the riot helped abolition because it raised the possibility of the curtailment of free speech. Similarly, Bertram Wyatt-Brown writes that as a consequence of the riot, "News of antislavery doctrine and the persecution of its white advocates spread throughout the nation . . . ," thus aiding their cause "in the long run."[69] In addition, Wyatt-Brown notes that, "The disorder also made a deep impression upon the leaders of New York society, and in equally dangerous times a year later they quickly rallied to curb excesses."[70] The conservative elite could, of course, oppose violence without supporting the abolitionists in any way; in fact, they could attack them for being the cause of the disorder, as most New Yorkers did. The long-term consequences of the riot should not blind one to their immediate effect, which was to polarize the community, making new enemies as well as new friends for abolition.[71]

Although repeatedly disclaiming violence and illegality, the abolitionists became associated with both. Moderates like Charles G. Finney backed away from the cause, although he had supported it in 1832 and 1833. Conservative merchants in the city's critically important southern trade mobilized to fight abolition as a threat to their very existence, fearing that the South would associate both New York and themselves with abolition. Catalyzed by the riot, these economic interests helped bind "a strong pro-southern merchant bloc" to the Democratic party, which even out did the Whigs in opposing abolition.[72] On the other hand, the riots did cause a significant minority of people to rethink their attitudes toward antislavery, while the committed abolitionists themselves were probably "radicalized" by the experience, a process they would undergo again and again.[73]

The impact of the riot on the antislavery constituency can be more precisely defined by analyzing a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia submitted to Congress in February, 1835. Signed by 240 men and sponsored by the New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, it was the first petition from the city after the violence. Noteworthy immediately was the decline in the proportion of merchant signers: from 24 percent of the petition of January, 1834, the merchants dropped to 4 percent; and their share increased only moderately in later memorials. The New York merchant community was having no part of abolition now that it threatened so many basic economic interests and the peace of the city. Just as striking was the relative absence of the leading evangelical abolitionists, including the Tappans. In contrast, two interrelated groups appeared in unusual numbers, participants in the Workingmen's movement and followers of Tom Paine.[74]

As noted in chapter four, the Paineites had celebrated their hero's birthday since 1825 and prominently participated in the opposition to the evangelical campaign to stop the Sunday mail. Four of them had supported the Manumission Society's large antislavery petition of 1829; but none supported the two following petitions in 1831 and 1834 associated with the Tappans, the despised leaders of the Church and State party in their eyes. Now in 1835 four of them signed the petition. Two of these men were English immigrants, and three were actively involved in Workingmen's politics.[75] Similar to the Paineites, a small but significant number of Workingmen supported the Manumission Society's large petition in 1829; then support dropped off, reappearing in 1835.[76] The Workingmen's support continued in later petitions.[77] The Workingmen and Paineites were an integral part of New York's artisan community, which itself supplied an unusual number of signers for the 1835 petition. Typical of most antislavery petitions to follow, artisans were the largest occupational group. In this petition they comprised almost half the signers whose occupations were found. Just as important, a significant number of artisans--ten out of sixty-two--were members of the prestigious General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, who probably did not share most of the political views of the radicals with whom they joined to oppose slavery.[78] In general, the artisans' share of the petition signers rose as the proportion of merchants declined precipitously. The shopkeepers increased significantly as well over the last petition to form the second largest group. The artisans and shopkeepers together constituted 70 percent of the signers with known occupations.[79]

This petition served in part as a vehicle for an antislavery constituency which preferred not to be directly associated with the Church and State party, a fact indicated not only by the relative absence of prominent evangelical abolitionists but also by the presence of other men on the petition besides the Paineites. More members of the New York Manumission Society signed this petition than any other except their own from 1829.[80] Similarly, more officers or managers of the reorganized New York City Colonization Society of 1831 signed this one than any other.[81] Most striking was the name of William L. Stone, editor of the Commercial Advertiser, leader of the New York City Colonization Society in its break with the American Colonization Society, and one of the men whose violent attacks on the abolitionists contributed to the riots of the previous summer. Three of the colonizationists, including Stone, had previously been members of the Manumission Society; and now they were part of a project sponsored by immediate abolitionists.[82] Although one should not call any of these three men converts to immediatism, they were willing, however begrudgingly, to let their voices be heard in a movement now led by their opponents. The riots of 1834 caused some New Yorkers, at least, to reevaluate their positions on abolition, particularly non-evangelicals with antislavery opinions. The sentiments on the riots of the non-evangelical antislavery constituency were probably similar to those of George Henry Evans, who published a disclaimer signed by Arthur Tappan and his associates denying the popular accusations against them:

> We publish the following as an act of mere justice to the signers of it. We have heretofore opposed, and shall continue to oppose, these individuals, in their measures tending to a union of Church and State, such as the stoppage of the Mails one day in seven on religious grounds, (thereby giving a governmental *preference* to the religion of one portion of the people;) but, in this slavery business, we are decidedly of [the] opinion that Mr. Tappan and his associates have done nothing but what they had a moral and constitutional *right* to do, and it is quite contrary to our principles to see any portion of our citizens deprived of their *rights*, however much we may be opposed to them in opinion.[83]

Looking just at the petition from 1835, one might conclude that the opportunities for converting public opinion to immediate abolition were rather good. Yet, the riots probably created more enemies for abolition than friends in the polarized city. One scholar even thinks the reaction of the city to the abolitionists as a consequence of the riot was overwhelmingly negative.[84] The abolitionists could claim, however, that the riots did not really test their strategy at all because the popular characterization of their position had been so erroneous, stressing popular fears of the "amalgamation" of the races.[85] Radicalized by persecution, they set out to give their strategy a true test in 1835.

In the spring of 1835 the tempo of antislavery activity was increasing throughout the state. In New York City a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society formed with 160 members; its officers included the wives and daughters of prominent New York abolitionists. One inspiration for its organization was a speaking tour in the Third Presbytery by the British abolitionist George Thompson. In their first year the ladies' activities were similar to those of the young men, except that they raised a considerable portion of their money with a sewing society which made "articles such as pin cushions, handkerchiefs, purses, and fancy boxes with antislavery mottoes and pictures."[86] As the sewing society illustrates, the antislavery movement was becoming institutionalized on a local level, so much so, in fact, that in October, 1835, the American Anti-Slavery Society prompted the organization of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society to handle the new volume of administrative and financial work within the state.[87]

Local antislavery societies had proliferated throughout the nation--"from two hundred in May, 1835, to five hundred twenty-seven the following year."[88] The prime cause of this expansion was the postal campaign of 1835, probably the most significant turning point in the early history of the abolitionist movement. An effort to spread antislavery tracts throughout the country, the postal campaign was a logical deduction from the strategy of reforming public opinion enunciated in the address of the New York Anti-Slavery Society in late 1833. The American Anti-Slavery Society initiated the program at its second annual convention in May, 1835, under the inspiration of Lewis Tappan. Relying on the mails and local societies for distribution, the American Anti-Slavery Society inundated the country with antislavery tracts, over a million, in fact, within one year. It was an unprecedented effort which provoked unprecedented opposition. According to Leonard L. Richards the postal campaign was the immediate cause of the nationwide anti-abolitionist violence which peaked in the summer of 1835. Contrary to the apparently eccentric Boston abolitionists, the New Yorkers symbolized "power, money, organization, and systematic agitation," a vision which "terrified anti-abolitionists," provoking them to unparalleled violence.[89] The South united against the postal campaign more than it had in the nullification crisis.[90] On July 29, 1835, a mob broke into the Charleston, South Carolina, post office and took mail from New York; the next night it burned Arthur Tappan, Garrison, and Samuel H. Cox in effigy with antislavery pamphlets for fuel. This incident initiated a movement throughout the South to suppress the postal campaign and abolition generally. Southerners demanded the extradition of the Tappans and other abolitionists for trial and organized boycotts of Arthur's business and, in some cases, of all New York goods, the nightmare of the New York merchant community. In fact, some frightened New York merchants approached Arthur Tappan to stop his abolitionist efforts, but he refused.[91]

Northern reaction was hardly restrained in comparison. There were anti-abolitionist riots in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, Rhode Island, and Utica, New York, to name the larger ones. Over abolitionist protest, Amos Kendall, Jackson's Postmaster General, "virtually endorsed state postal inspection" to eliminate the obnoxious tracts.[92] The crisis was especially acute in New York City, the source of the agitation. Nevertheless, although the Tappans and their abolitionist associates were vilified, they did not suffer the mob violence of the previous summer, mainly because the city's authorities and editors "wanted no repetition of lawlessness."[93] At the end of August there was a relatively restrained anti-abolitionist meeting at the Battery whose call was signed by "'several hundred persons, of different political parties, headed by the mayor.'"[94] One of the participants in this meeting, Philip Hone, probably expressed the conflicting reactions of moderates and conservatives to the whole postal campaign:

> The Abolitionists, Arthur Tappan and his fantastical coadjutors, are certainly engaged in a most mischievous undertaking, which may bring destruction upon their own heads and civil war into the bosom of our hitherto happy country, but the remedy is worse than the disease. If they are punished, if their dangerous career is arrested, it must be done according to law. I do not choose to surrender the power of executing justice into the hands of the slaveowners of South Carolina.[95]

Thus the postal campaign helped to change the attitudes of the nation, uniting the South and much of the North against abolition, while the violence of the reaction gained some new sympathy for antislavery, especially in those like Philip Hone whose northern patriotism was aroused. Most important, as a consequence of the postal campaign, "organized antislavery was unquestionably the paramount issue of the day."[96] It could no longer be ignored. But if the mail campaign had aroused and changed the attitudes of the country, it had also altered the abolitionist movement.[97]

On the one hand, the postal campaign had been an unparalleled success in gaining national attention and even in associating it with constitutional issues like free speech. On the other hand, its results doomed the old strategy of achieving voluntary and immediate emancipation solely through the reform of public opinion, a strategy weighted with religious assumptions and models for action. Public opinion had been changed, but largely in the negative, and overwhelmingly so in the South, where public opinion had to be reformed the most to be effective at all. Thus the Charleston mob had dealt the old strategy a critical blow. Just as important, the campaign had further antagonized organized religion throughout the nation, driving the "wedge between conservative churchmen and evangelical abolitionists . . . deeper into the country's religious system."[98] The hostility of organized religion meant that it could not be the vehicle even for converting northern public opinion. After the postal campaign antislavery could not be just another moral reform trying to work through the familiar techniques, organizations, and constituency of the benevolent empire. Although the traditional parties had tried to suppress it, abolition had become a political question, requiring new strategies and methods. In fact, the very efforts to suppress it had politicized the issue--whether they were Kendall's postal inspection or the censorship laws proposed by President Jackson and J. C. Calhoun in the session of Congress beginning in December, 1835. Neither Arthur nor Lewis Tappan approved of the transformation which their postal campaign had wrought. Although they remained active in the cause, they did not dominate its leadership to the extent they had. Now, "no longer inhibited by Arthur Tappan's caution," in particular, the abolitionist movement developed a life and direction of its own.[99]

In 1836 abolition worked to mobilize its constituency directly through its own autonomous institutions instead of through the agencies of the benevolent empire or the churches. It necessarily had to work in the North. The process had already begun in the postal campaign. Early in the year the American Anti-Slavery Society decided to send out lecturers, and Theodore Dwight Weld began collecting "the seventy" in July. Unlike the postal campaign the lecturers focused on particular areas of greatest potential, especially in western New York and Ohio. They avoided New York City and other large cities because of their frustrations in appealing to the public there and because of their faith in the farmers and small-town middle class that had been the backbone of the benevolent empire. The efforts of the lecturers meshed with those of local organizers, part-time abolitionists, whose

UMI

initiatives were giving the movement a new momentum and force. A massive petition campaign also appealed to grass-roots anti-slavery sentiment. Although one of the main projects of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it relied heavily on state and local organizations. In New York State the campaign got under way in the fall of 1836, well after the House passed the Pinckney "gag" resolution in May which required that all petitions concerning slavery be tabled without being considered. Thus the direct political significance of the petitions was less important than their role in mobilizing support: " . . . carrying petitions from door to door in a town was one of the best ways to get people to read and discuss antislavery principles."[100] Such a task was ideal for local societies. The petitions also kept the slavery issue in the public mind.[101]

While "the seventy" avoided New York City the petition campaign did not, as groups like the Young Men's and Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies circulated petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, the slave trade, the gag resolutions, the annexation of Texas, and the introduction of slavery into the territories. The printed forms of the petitions from New York City as well as their number indicate a new coordinated effort. Circulating the petitions in New York was a frustrating task. After working on one, the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society complained that "unless personal observation and experience had proved it to us, we could not have believed that the ruling spirit of this large city, on a subject of such vital interest and importance, was either blank ignorance, total indifference, or a decided preference of slavery . . . ."[102] They despaired of "the difficulty that meets us with all classes" and thought they could have done much better in "the most humble village."[103] They concluded that "large cities are not the places where one finds most happily developed, the kindliest feelings of our nature, in their unsophisticated warmth and simplicity, ..."[104] These sentiments illustrate not only the hostility of a city whose economy was peculiarly dependent on southern commerce, but also the middle-class character of the ladies and young men who circulated the petitions. What Gerald Sorin says about the one hundred most important abolitionist leaders in New York State was true of these more modest activists: "Abolition tended to draw its leadership from urban areas and from the highly educated, moderately prosperous segments of society," especially from professionals like lawyers and ministers.[105] Sorin also found a high proportion of leaders influenced by revivalism and with New England roots. The lesser leaders in New York City were probably similar. In fact, Bertram Wyatt-Brown considers the whole Third Presbytery as an enclave of evangelical New Englanders in the city.[106]

The middle-class character of these local abolitionist leaders made the hostility of their own class particularly disturbing. They may have succeeded in reaching the traditional constituency of pious reform in their petition of January, 1834, but not after the riots of that summer or the postal campaign of 1835. A letter of July 21, 1835, from the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society to the Ladies' New York City

Anti-Slavery Society expresses a common predicament:

> In other philanthropic and charitable causes, many beholders who take no peculiar interest in them, or contribute much to their assistance, are yet willing to bid them God speed, ...
>
> But in the cause of Abolition, this is not the case, ... The intellectual and the intelligent, those whom we should judge to be the first to fathom the sophistry that would palliate the sin of slavery, the gentle and tender hearted, whom we would think would raise the most indignant cry for the abolition of a system of such unutterable misery, even the pious and religious, who should be most zealous for the Christian glory of this land, . . . , yes, the majority of all these are not with us, not even by their sympathy, their hopes, or their prayers.[107]

Thus while evangelical professionals provided most of the leadership for abolition they did not provide most of the followers, at least in New York City.

The common constituency of New York's abolitionist movement is revealed in an analysis of all the petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia submitted from the city between 1829 and 1839. There were thirteen petitions with over 4200 signers. Artisans were typically the largest occupational group signing the petitions, as indicated in Table 5.1. Although not conspicuous in leadership positions, artisans plus shopkeepers and proprietors usually constituted a majority of the signers. This finding supports Leonard Richards' conclusion that, "In the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society there were many skilled craftsmen and tradesmen. But not many of these men were among the leadership or active nucleus."[108] After the crucial riot of July, 1834, the occupational makeup of the signers changed dramatically as the proportion of merchants declined precipitously while the percentage of artisans and shopkeepers increased and remained consistently high. The artisans and shopkeepers were not just occasional supporters: they constituted half of the men who signed more than one petition.[109]

The professionals were unique since they were the only group consistently overrepresented in comparison to their proportion of the New York City Directories as well as the largest group among those who signed two or more petitions. (See Figure 5.2 and Appendix 18.) Nevertheless, on any single petition they were almost always the second or third largest group. Their overrepresentation in comparison to the Directories and their large share of the common signers reflects the middle-class professional leadership of the cause. Not only were the leaders more likely to sign but they were almost certain to pass the petitions around to their middle-class friends, thus giving the professionals their unusual representation. When speaking of antislavery support among any of these occupational groups, however, one must remember that one is describing a small minority of each, a fact illustrated by the leaders' complaints against their fellow middle-class evangelicals. No sector of the population "supported" abolition. In no sense, for example, did artisans as a group endorse abolition; rather they, like professionals, provided a fruitful recruiting ground for the small numbers who did join the cause.

UMI

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGE OF SIGNERS IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS SIGNING 12 ANTISLAVERY PETITIONS

	Antislavery Petitions				
Year submitted	1829 (5)[a]	1829 (6)	1831 (7)	1834 (8)	1835 (9)
Total signers	1462	41	57	186	255
Total signers' occupations found	678	21	21	111	127
Percentage of Signers by Occupational Groups					
Merchants	12.8	9.5	19.	27.9	3.9
Professionals, etc.	11.1	23.8	28.6	35.1	21.3
Shopkeepers, etc.	31.3	9.5	4.8	17.1	24.4
Artisans	38.1	57.1	38.1	18.9	45.7
Laborers, etc.	4.9	. .	9.5	.9	3.1
Other	1.9	. .	. .	. .	1.6

Source: Appendices 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17.

Note: The full names of the occupational categories are merchants; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials; shopkeepers and proprietors; artisans; laborers and cartmen; and other. The petition in Appendix 16 was not included in the table because it had only 17 signers, most of whom were 21 years old or younger and not in the Directories. This was the only petition which included the ages of the signers, probably because of their youth. Its percentages for the 4 men over 21 who were found are thus abnormal and idiosyncratic.

[a] Numbers in parentheses indicate Appendices.

TABLE 5.1--Continued

Antislavery Petitions						
1836 (10)	1837 (11)	1837 (12)	1837 (13)	1838 (14)	1838 (15)	1839 (17)
328	86	251	398	248	133	597
177	34	83	126	104	36	326
Percentage of Signers by Occupational Groups						
7.3	11.8	3.6	1.6	3.8	11.1	3.1
16.4	17.6	12.	29.4	40.4	13.9	18.1
31.6	32.4	38.6	18.3	16.3	19.4	30.7
36.2	32.4	41.	41.3	33.7	47.2	39.9
5.6	5.9	3.6	7.9	1.9	8.3	6.1
2.8	. .	1.2	1.6	3.8	. .	2.1

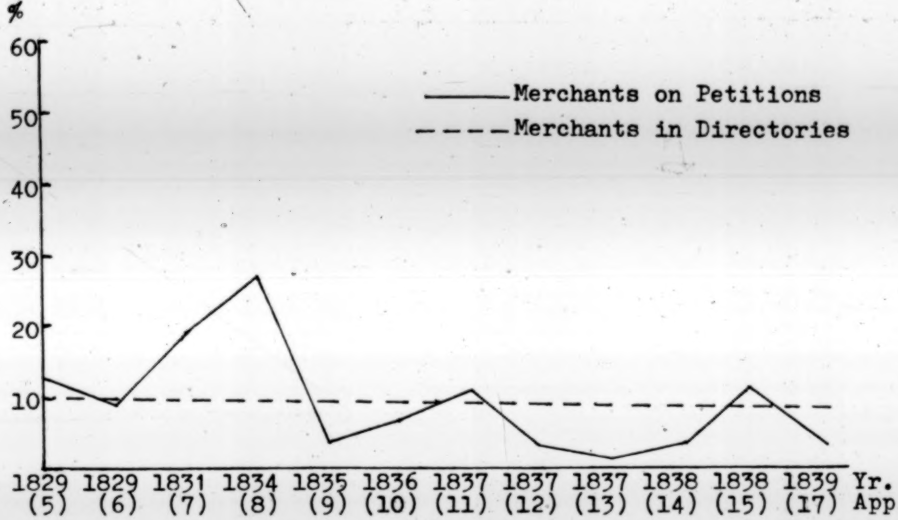

Fig. 5.1--Proportion of merchants signing 12 antislavery petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, compared to their representation in samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories.

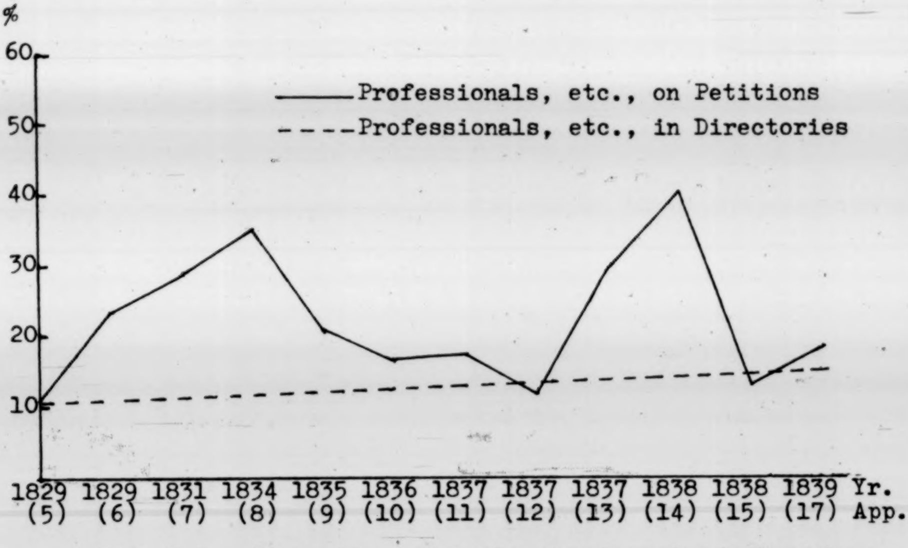

Fig. 5.2-- Proportion of professionals, clerical workers, and government officials signing 12 antislavery petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, compared to their representation in samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories.

UMI

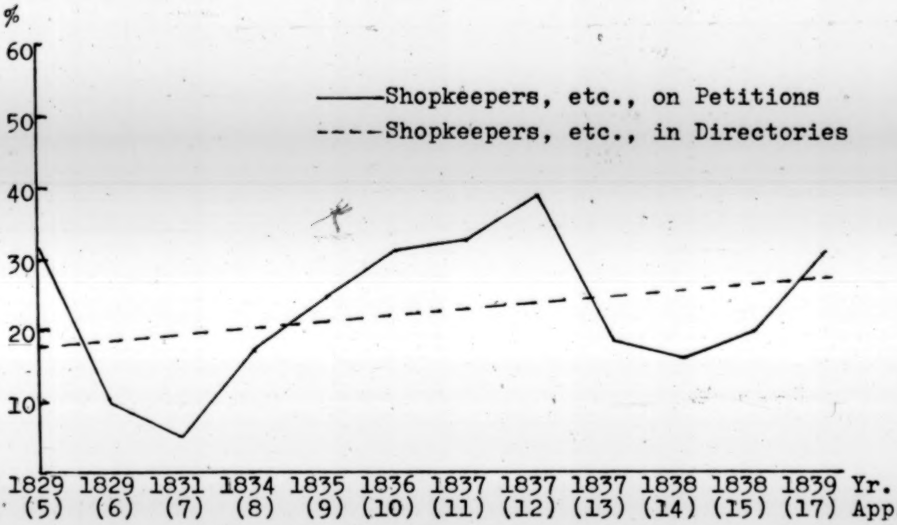

Fig. 5.3-- Proportion of shopkeepers and proprietors signing 12 antislavery petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, compared to their representation in samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories.

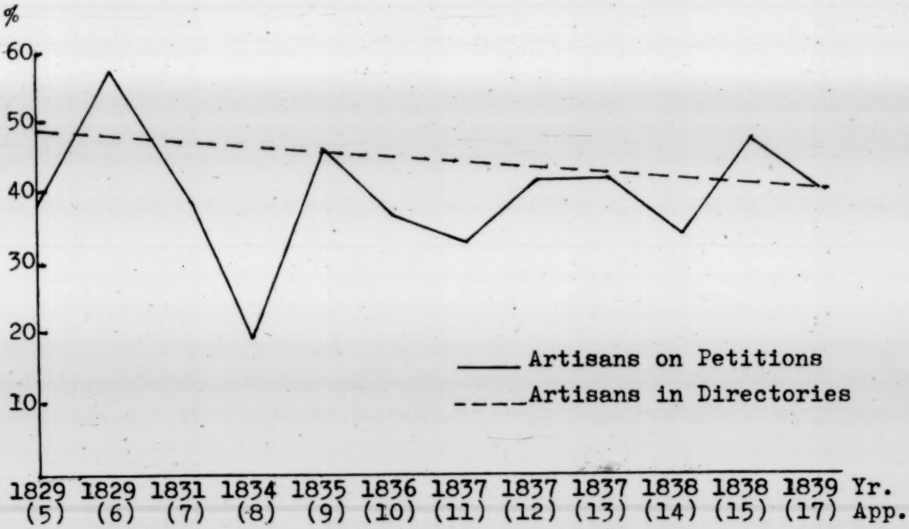

Fig. 5.4-- Proportion of artisans signing 12 antislavery petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, compared to their representation in samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories.

UMI

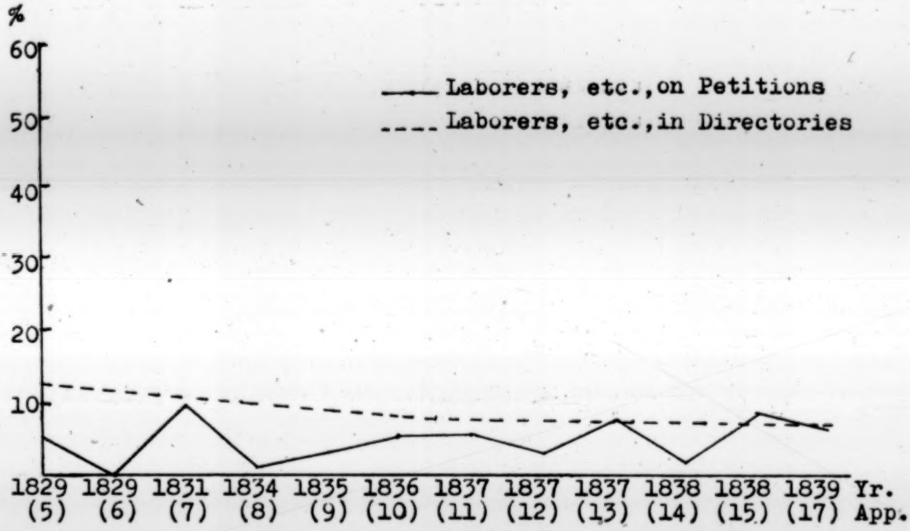

Fig. 5.5-- Proportion of laborers and cartmen signing 12 antislavery petitions from New York City, 1829-1839, compared to their representation in samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 New York City Directories.

III

Two cultural traditions predisposed the petition signers to their antislavery opinions--evangelical religion and Jacobin radicalism. The first was prevalent throughout society while the second was more peculiar to the artisan community. When English origins combined with either tradition, it was especially effective as a source of antislavery sentiment. Another group of signers, the free blacks, were against slavery by definition.

Evangelical artisans are not difficult to find among the petition signers. Sixty-six artisans signed more than one antislavery petition, and evangelicals were prominent among them. Daniel Fanshaw, a printer, Joseph Brewster, a hatter, and Charles Starr, a bookbinder, were all members of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen who signed several antislavery petitions and the Sunday-mail petition of 1827. As noted before, Brewster was a founding member of the New York City Tract Society; and both he and Starr fought with George Henry Evans in 1830 over a special church for "young mechanics." While these men were of high status, humbler artisans and laborers were also evangelicals. Although they are harder to identify, they were probably baptists and methodists. Methodists in particular brought revivalism to the cities well before the urban work of Finney. Thus the evangelical revivalism that has been credited with so much in stimulating the abolitionist movement had both an urban and rural constituency.[110]

Michael Floy, a petition signer and officer of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society for a short time, was converted in the great methodist Allen Street revival of 1828. Although not an artisan, he worked in the rather humble position of a shopkeeper and gardener in his father's flower and seed business. A methodist and thus not associated with the Third Presbytery, he was also a committed Jacksonian who cheered for the President in the Bank War and vowed that "they might as well try to make a new man out and out of my body, soul, and all as ever to beat any Aristocracy into me . . . ."[111] His father was an abolitionist as well who attended the Utica convention of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society in 1835, the one that suffered so much mob violence. Notably, his father was also an Englishman. Although David Brion Davis has described English abolition as "predominantly middle-class in tone," he nevertheless found "evidence, especially by the 1820s, that abolitionism had filtered down to workingmen who attended Dissenting congregations or the various societies for moral improvement and useful knowledge. It could serve both as an instrument and symbol of upward mobility, or even provide an organizational model for more radical causes."[112] Perhaps the elder Floy was a man of this upwardly-striving type and his son representative of many of the more common petition signers.[113]

Radicals in the Owen and Paineite traditions were also opposed to slavery; but it was not their most pressing concern. In 1845 Robert Owen summed up the general position of these radicals on the subject when he said that "'from an early period he was opposed to Negro slavery, and also to slavery of all kinds. At home in England he had seen by far worse slavery than any he had witnessed among the colored population--all should look at the great causes of slavery. They could be traced to the spirit of inequality in and under all governments . . . .'"[114] Owen's statement reveals not only his opposition to slavery but also the basis on which the radical labor movement commonly criticized evangelical abolitionists for stressing Negro slavery at the expense of "wage slavery" and for not getting to the root problem of inequality. Similarly, both Francis Wright and Robert Dale Owen opposed slavery though they generally backed gradualist programs. Wright's ill-fated Nashoba community in the 1820s was an attempt to apply a communitarian solution to American Negro slavery. Francis Wright and the Owenite tradition generally helped link labor reform and antislavery in the eyes of conservatives; in 1838 the editor of the New York Sunday Morning News wrote that abolition "is essentially loco-focoism . . . . Every one knows that it was one of the original doctrines of the Fanny Wright, no-monopoly, no-property, and no-marriage party, ..."[115]

Followers of Tom Paine, who were often Owenites as well, also opposed slavery, as one might expect from such children of the liberal Enlightenment. As noted in chapter two, Paine himself had attacked slavery as a violation of man's natural rights. According to David Brion Davis, up until the English political reaction in the 1790s against the French Revolution, "there were still ideological ties between the antislavery movement and the Constitutional societies that were beginning to distribute Paineite literature to the working class."[116] Although Davis does not stress it, this radical support might have continued since he found lower-class antislavery sentiment again in the 1820s. Like Michael Floy's father, some of this lower-class support for antislavery came across the Atlantic, particularly in the increase in English immigration in the late '20s. As noted in chapter four, the leaders of the Paine birthday celebrations in New York that began in 1825 were predominantly English-born artisans. Thus the presence of Paineites among the petition signers is not surprising, and they probably helped spread antislavery sentiment to a constituency among artisans and journeymen not amenable to appeals by evangelicals. Their backing even caused problems for the evangelical abolitionists.

UMI

When Arthur Tappan asked the pious followers of the benevolent empire to support antislavery one of their "excuses" for holding back was their accusation that "the abolitionist body was largely composed of irreligious men, some of infidel sentiments."[117] Significantly, this "nortoriously untrue" accusation was made against the body, not the head, of abolition.[118] It is not surprising that the Paineites were followers rather than leaders in the abolitionist movement. Just as the Owenites were more concerned with labor reform than slavery, so the Paineites were preoccupied with promoting freethought and opposing "priestcraft." Besides both groups had difficulty joining the evangelical promoters of abolition in the '30s, although they had supported the Manumission Society's petition in 1829. It took the riots of 1834 to begin changing their perception of the movement as basically another plot of the Church and State party.[119]

George Henry Evans voiced the antislavery sentiment of the Owen and Paineite traditions. Evans opposed slavery in the late '20s and 1830s although he did not join the evangelically led movement; later in the 1840s he opposed abolition partly for diverting attention from the "real" problem of land distribution. Evans' New York Daily Sentinel, "an organ of the New York Workingmen's Party," was the only paper in New York City to justify Nat Turner's rebellion.[120] While lamenting the massacre, Evans blamed it on slavery and the slaveholders:

> . . .almost all accounts concur in stating that they expected to emancipate themselves, and they no doubt thought that their only hope of doing so was to put to

UMI

> death, indiscriminately, the whole race of those who held them in bondage. If such were their impressions, were they not justifiable in doing so? Undoubtedly they were, if freedom is the birthright of man, as the declaration of independence tells us . . . . if their object was to obtain their freedom, those who kept them in slavery and ignorance alone are answerable for their conduct. They were deluded, but their cause was just.[121]

When Evans and his supporters were attacked as "fanatics" by the *Washington Telegraph*, he defended himself vigorously:

> Instead of considering ourselves as justly chargeable with "excessive enthusiasm" in favor of the slaves, we conscientiously declare that we believe that we have been negligent in relation to their cause, and our only excuse is, that the class to which we belong, and whose rights we endeavor to advocate, are threatened with evils only inferior to those of slavery, which evils it has been our principal object and endeavor to eradicate. We might, however, have done more for the cause of emancipation than we have done, and we are now convinced that our interest demands that we should do more, for EQUAL RIGHTS can never be enjoyed, even by those who are free, in a nation which contains slaveites enough to hold in bondage two millions of human beings, ... It is, therefore, the duty of every freeman--every friend of equal rights--to endeavor to avert from this country the evils which threaten her, by lending his aid to the adoption of measures for eradicating--totally eradicating the evil of *slavery*. This must be done by degrees, as well for the safety of the slaves as the slaveholders, but it must be done as rapidly as consistent with the safety of both.[122]

Compared to his attitude toward slavery, Evans' response to the abolitionists was ambivalent; and yet he defended them in 1835 against an attack by the governor: "We believe that many of them are actuated by a species of fanaticism,. . . . but their desire to *free* the slaves, so far as they can do so by the force of moral [persuasion?], we believe to be a good and just cause, and one that they have not attempted to advance by any but constitutional means."[123]

Evans illustrates the fact that it was possible to be both against slavery and ambivalent towards the abolitionist

UMI

movement, an attitude characteristic of most labor leaders who took a position on slavery between 1830 and 1845, according to Bernard Mandel. Their opposition to slavery is not surprising since their radical artisan traditions of independence, equality, democracy, and natural rights predisposed them against it. Nevertheless, while antislavery, they concentrated on the "emancipation of all workers, white and Negro," from "wage slavery."[124] In opposing slavery the labor movement's problem was similar to "that of the European workers in the democratic revolutions of the nineteenth century," who had to "find a way to cooperate with the middle class against a common enemy without losing its identity and its independent program."[125] A smaller group of labor leaders did advocate cooperation with slaveholders to fight northern capitalism. They were led into this alliance as their sense of the threat of wage slavery became particularly acute. Notably, Evans attributed his turn against the abolitionist movement to his realization of the existence of "white slavery."[126] Opposing the abolitionist movement did not mean supporting Negro slavery, however. On the whole, the labor movement and northern workers in general were unsympathetic to both slavery and immediate abolition, being more concerned with their own problems, until they began to perceive slavery as a threat to civil rights and free government in the territories. Thus antislavery sentiment grew among northern workers as events forced this awareness upon them and they firmly supported the Union in the Civil War. Nevertheless, the petition signers from New York City show that artisans of both evangelical and Jacobin persuasions formed a critical element of the antislavery constituency even in abolition's earliest years.[127]

At first abolitionists did not realize the heterogeneous nature of the antislavery constituency and began by alienating part of it. The first issue of the Liberator in January 1, 1831, attacked both slavery and the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and other Workingmen. Garrison accused the organization of exciting the working classes against the "more opulent" whereas rich and poor alike had a common interest in solving shared problems.[128] Certainly the mechanics were not oppressed despite the labor movement's claims. Garrison's attitudes were typical of antislavery's middle-class leaders who consistently had a "blind spot" for the oppressions suffered by the northern working class.[129] The abolitionists' problems with labor in general were similar to those of the Garrisonians when they tried for decades to win over the Irish immigrants by associating abolition in America with the movement for Irish independence. According to Gilbert Osfosky, "the limitations of antislavery ideology, especially the general prevalent unwillingness to recognize the difficulties inherent in class and cultural distinctions among America's peoples, provided an insuperable barrier to honest and fruitful communication."[130] The Garrisonians were romantic nationalists for whom freedom was an absolute possessed by individuals and nations: "To admit inequalities of freedom as inherent in class membership, . . . would have denied freedom as an attribute of the individual. Let us free the black, urged the abolitionists, in effect, so he may have the same opportunity as the Irishman to rise by hard work and merit. Here was an individualistic, middle-class work ethic that automatically banned any class approach to relief of Irish-American economic conditions."[131] The same ethic was advocated by the New York abolitionists when they supported Sabbath and temperance crusades, both of which contributed to the formation of a modern industrial working class.

There was, therefore, mutual suspicion between abolition and labor: "The abolitionists pointed the finger of shame at the workers for their selfishness in striving for their own salvation and failing to join in the crusade for emancipation, and the working men in turn accused them of sheer hypocrisy for ignoring the merits of the labor question."[132] Nevertheless, the open attacks by abolitionists on labor organizations were common only in the beginning years of the abolitionist movement, although the basic distrust continued. When the leaders of abolition did not attract sufficient numbers of the usual benevolent constituency, at least in the cities, they sought support where they could. The years 1836 and 1837 witnessed a special effort by abolitionists to appeal to labor and to the "'bone and muscle'" of society in general. The basis of the appeal was "that free labor and slave labor were fundamentally antagonistic; that free labor was in jeopardy as long as slavery existed in this country."[133] Slavery degraded the name of all labor, brought unfair competition, and supported an aristocracy antithetical to republican values. Evans' assertion in 1831 that slaveholders threatened the equal rights of even free men illustrates that the abolitionists had an understanding audience.[134]

This sympathetic constituency included not only evangelical and rebel artisans but also free blacks and Englishmen. The Rev. George Bourne, an Englishman and prominent supporter of New York's abolitionist movement in the '30s, wrote the "strongest and most uncompromising plea for immediate emancipation" in the first decades of the nineteenth century, appropriately entitled The Book and Slavery Irreconcilable.[135] The English origins of so many Owenites and Paineites, as well as of Michael Floy's methodist father, raise the question of the impact of English immigrants on the antislavery movement. The increase in English immigration in the late 1820s probably brought over considerable numbers of men with antislavery opinions whether they were secular radicals or methodists. Similarly in the 1830s and '40s Chartist immigrants brought with them the antislavery opinions of their movement, although the most radical of them leaned toward proslavery positions in reaction against northern capitalism.[136] In addition, Leonard Richards found that in comparison with their opponents, "The abolitionists, . . . included among their ranks a greater percentage not only of manufacturers and tradesmen but also of British-born manufacturers and tradesmen."[137] In Utica, New York, for example, "about one-third of the active abolitionists came from Wales or England," while in Cincinnati "the antislavery movement depended on the largesse of English immigrants."[138] Besides anti-abolitionist mobs "tended to save some of their roughest treatment for English immigrants."[139] Judging from this evidence one can surmise that English origins, especially when combined with roots in Owenism or a sect like methodism, helped predispose a significant number of the common followers of abolition to their antislavery sentiments.

Free blacks hardly had to be convinced of the evils of slavery, but their presence in New York's abolitionist constituency is hard to trace through the petitions because they were practically excluded from the Directories. Nevertheless, a few black signers show up in the Directories and not simply the leaders of New York's black community like Rev. Theodore S. Wright, but also James Jeffers, piebaker, Jesse Betts, porter, Loudon W. Turpin, carpenter, and Thomas Vanraenslaer, victualler. Vanraenslaer, in fact, was one of only four men to sign five antislavery petitions.[140] In addition, the petition with the largest number of black signers, twelve, also had an unusual number of poorly written, as distinct from illegible, names.[141] The poorly written signatures might indicate a larger number of black signers. Free blacks had, of course, been active in the antislavery movement throughout its history and were instrumental in converting men like Arthur Tappan to the cause. However, they too, had problems with the evangelical leaders of the cause deriving from the evangelicals' narrowly moralistic approach to the blacks' social condition. Theodore S. Wright complained, for example, not only of prejudice in antislavery ranks but also that the doctrine of many abolitionists was "to set the slave free and let him take care of himself."[142] Like the Irish, Wright found free labor and moral self-discipline inadequate in overcoming the social problems of America's lowest orders. And yet, like rebel artisans, he supported the movement, even while he criticized it.

IV

In conclusion, New York's immediate abolitionists began in 1833 by appealing to the traditional constituency of reform, converted evangelicals and the merchants and professionals who had figured so prominently in the city's philanthropic institutions. These people offered not only power and respectability but also influence over the opinions of the "virtuous citizens" whom the abolitionists planned to convert to their cause. The abolitionists credited public opinion with the power to move the whole government as well as the slaveholders. In a way, they were right; only opinion did not change in the manner they had foreseen. The pious supporters of the benevolent empire divided on the issue, and their mission agencies excluded it as divisive. Popular violence against the abolitionists in New York and around the country frightened moderates and conservatives generally, and the city's merchant community practically abandoned the cause. Instead of converting the slaveholders in their postal campaign, the abolitionists helped unite them and the whole South in defense of slavery. Instead of swaying the government with the moral power of the pious public, they frightened it into trying to repress the whole question. The American abolitionists could not influence the government from within, as their associates had done in England, because slaveholders were at the center of power and not in far away Caribbean colonies.[143] Thus abolitionists polarized the country instead of converting it; and yet this very division began to win support for their cause, especially as they became the objects of popular governmental repression. The new support was not, however, from the "wise and good" to whom they had originally appealed; but from a much more heterogeneous antislavery constituency including radical artisans as well as members of the old elite frightened by popular violence.

As evangelical children of the era's "Great Revival" the immediate abolitionists originally put great hope in the organized power of their fellow believers. Had not the mission societies of the benevolent empire shown what could be accomplished? This evangelical orientation led them, in the words of William Birney, to "give undue prominence to the religious aspect of the anti-slavery movement."[144] There was, however, another antislavery constituency. The central Jacobin ideals of independence, democracy, egalitarianism, and natural rights predisposed radical artisans against slavery, as did the opinions of their heroes like Tom Paine. The elite men who supported gradual emancipation were certainly Christian believers but not converted evangelicals, and they kept their antislavery opinions in the 1830s, even when they supported colonization. Nevertheless, both radical

UMI

artisans and elite gradualists found the evangelical leaders of immediate abolition offensive. The evangelicals challenged the gradualists' whole mode of traditional philanthropy, and their religious opinions and mission societies contradicted the rationalistic freethought of some rebel artisans and appeared to undermine the republic idealized by all of them. In fact, to all these men the abolitionists appeared at first as the forbidding Church and State party which was trying to impose a new moral order on New York City and the nation.

Thus the support of these groups for antislavery fell off in the early '30s until the riots and repression of 1834 and 1835 overcame this perception with weightier concerns over violence and the defense of civil rights. Their support increased as that of the city's merchants precipitously declined. Artisans and shopkeepers in particular became the backbone of New York City's antislavery constituency.

The abolitionists began appealing to this wider constituency in the mid '30s after they failed to move either pious public opinion or the government in their favor. Leonard Richards has noted that the abolitionists thought they could win over "'the bone and muscle of society'" in contrast to the "'rabble'" and the "'aristocracy of the North,'" which included "lawyers, politicians, merchants, and bankers."[145] Although farmers were part of the "'bone and muscle of society,'" the phrase more precisely described the "'honest, hard-handed, clear-headed, free laborers, and mechanics of the North.'"[146] The Jacobin tradition of these men gave the abolitionists an audience among them, and the necessities of finding support led the abolitionists to appeal to it more and more. Nevertheless, there was suspicion. Rebel artisans in particular thought "wage slavery" deserved as much attention as chattel slavery, while the ideology and class position of the abolitionist leaders led them to minimize labor's problems, particularly since they were sure that hard-working, self-disciplined individuals could always rise in the North's free enterprise economy. Thus in the 1830s the abolitionist movement developed a cross-class appeal that gave it the power to fundamentally alter American society in the decades ahead, but the tensions in its coalition remained.

UMI

FOOTNOTES

[1] Eli Seifman, "A History of the New-York State Colonization Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1965), pp. 48-49.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 49-50.

[3] *Freedom's Journal*, March 30, 1827, as quoted in Gerald Sorin, *The New York Abolitionists: A Case Study of Political Radicalism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971), p. 92.

[4] Seifman, pp. 55-59; Sorin, pp. 81-82, 92-93; *Freedom's Journal*, March 30, 1827, as quoted in Sorin, p. 92.

[5] *Commercial Advertiser*, October 15, 1828.

[6] Seifman, p. 60; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), pp. 84-86; *Commercial Advertiser*, October 15, 1828; see footnote 34 in chapter two on the evangelicals and the Manumission Society's large antislavery petition from 1829.

[7] Isaac Orr as quoted in Seifman, p. 70.

[8] *Commercial Advertiser*, January 22, 1829; Seifman, pp. 1, 61-66, 69-72.

[9] David Brion Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought," *Ante-Bellum Reform*, ed. David Brion Davis (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 150.

[10] Sorin, p. 73; Wyatt-Brown, pp. 61-65; Seifman, pp. 75-78; a new constitution was adopted as well as a new name, "Colonization Society of the City of New York"; the other members of the Manumission Society who joined the reorganized Colonization Society were Israel Corse, John Duer, and Ira B. Underhill.

[11] Wyatt-Brown, p. 61.

[12] Four of the eleven "gentlemen" named by Bertram Wyatt-Brown were officers or managers in the reorganized New York City Colonization Society of 1831--Moses Allen, Silas Holmes, Anson G. Phelps, and Knowles Taylor; Wyatt-Brown, p. 61;

UMI

in 1827 six of these same eleven men were founding members of the New York City Tract Society along with the Tappans--Moses Allen, Zachariah Lewis, Anson G. Phelps, Zephaniah Platt, John Rankin, and Knowles Taylor.

[13] Seifman, p. 52; see Appendix 7. Neither the New York Manumission Society nor the New York City Colonization Society sponsored this petition. The Manumission Society stopped its petition effort in 1829, and only one officer or manager of the reorganized Colonization Society signed, Phineas Crandall, one of the editors of the Genius of Temperance.

[14] See the professionals in Appendix 18A for the prominent role of full-time reformers in the antislavery leadership. Most of this leadership was made up of professionals and of the moderately prosperous urban middle class generally; Sorin, p. 119. Note also the men mentioned in this chapter who aided Arthur Tappan in organizing the New York City Anti-Slavery Society in the fall of 1833.

[15] The three members of the General Society were Joseph Brewster, Charles Starr, and Robert Townsend, Jr.; William Winterton joined in 1836.

[16] For the fight with Evans see chapter four. Brewster was also a founding member of the New York City Tract Society and signed another antislavery petition later in the '30s, as did two of the other artisan signers--William Winterton and James Vanvalkenburgh.

[17] The only qualification to this statement comes from the relatively high number of men who simply could not be found, some of whom were probably lesser artisans too obscure to appear in the Directory.

[18] See Table 5.1; Hugins, pp. 71-72.

[19] Eric Foner, ed., Nat Turner (Great Lives Observed; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 7-8; Wyatt-Brown, pp. 87-89, 98-100; Seifman, p. 82.

[20] Wyatt-Brown, p. 68.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[23] Leonard L. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 25; Alice Hatcher Henderson, "The History of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 3-8.

UMI

[24] Seifman, pp. 89-101.

[25] Wyatt-Brown, p. 105.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] *Ibid*., pp. 102-106; Female Anti-Slavery Society of Chatham-Street Chapel, *Constitution and Address* (New York: printed by William S. Dorr, 1834).

[28] Wyatt-Brown, p. 106.

[29] Henderson, p. 13.

[30] Wyatt-Brown, p. 106.

[31] *Ibid*.; Henderson, pp. 13, 16; New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, *Address of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, to the People of the City of New-York* (New York: Printed by West and Trow, 1833); hereafter cited as *Address*. The officers elected at the first meeting constitute the core leadership of the New York abolitionists referred to here--Arthur Tappan, William Green, Jr., John Rankin, Elizur Wright, Jr., Charles W. Denison, Joshua Leavitt, Isaac T. Hopper, Abraham L. Cox, Lewis Tappan, and William Goodell.

[32] Wyatt-Brown, p. 106.

[33] *Address*, pp. 29-33, 41-43; *Minutes of the Twenty-First Biennial American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the Condition of the African Race... 1829* (Philadelphia: Thomas B. Town, Printer, 1830), pp. 28-35.

[34] *Address*, pp. 42-43.

[35] George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Harper Torchbooks; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 29.

[36] *Address*, p. 46.

[37] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 303; *Address*, pp. 31, 42-43; Fredrickson, pp. 6, 11-12, 19.

[38] Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, p. 303.

[39] *Ibid*., pp. 303-304.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 304.

UMI

[41] Ibid., p. 306.

[42] Address, p. 4.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., p. 5.

[45] Davis, "Emergence of Immediatism," Ante-Bellum Reform, p. 152.

[46] Fredrickson, p. 35.

[47] Ibid., p. 33; see also Ronald G. Walters, The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 33-34, 55.

[48] Address, p. 12.

[49] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[50] Walters, pp. 112-114, 120-125, 138-139; Davis, Problem of Slavery, pp. 350, 356-358, 381-382, 462-467; Bernard Mandel, Labor: Free and Slave, Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States (New York: Associated Authors, 1955), pp. 89-92.

[51] Address, p. 13.

[52] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[53] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[54] Ibid., p. 28.

[55] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[56] Ibid., p. 26.

[57] Sorin, p. 119; Carroll Smith Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 4-5, 29, 44-69; Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Anti-Slavery Impulse 1830-1844 (A Harbinger Book; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), pp. 3-28; Sidney E. Mead, The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 90-102.

[58] Address, p. 26.

[59] Ibid., p. 20.

[60] Ibid., p. 25.

[61] Ibid., p. 4.

[62] *Ibid*., pp. 11-19, Wyatt-Brown, p. 106.

[63] See Appendix 8. In the petition from 1831 the two editors had an unusually high proportion because there were relatively few signers on the whole petition and because a large number of these could not be found in the Directories.

[64] See Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.5; Appendix 3.

[65] Wyatt-Brown, p. 109. He thinks that problems of slow travel required that most members be from the same place.

[66] The other four were Thomas P. Bowne, Abraham L. Cox, Mahlon Day, and Thomas Leggett, Jr.

[67] The other three were Gerard Hallock, Ansel W. Ives, and James Tallmadge, all managers.

[68] Wyatt-Brown, pp. 114, 178; Henderson, p. 42; New-York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, *Address of the New-York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, to their Fellow-Citizens* (New York: W. T. Coolidge and Co., 1834), pp. 19, 1-38; New-York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, *First Annual Report* (New York: W. S. Dorr, Printer, 1835), pp. 13-14; Linda K. Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History*, XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1967), pp. 30-31; Richards, pp. 113-122.

[69] Wyatt-Brown, p. 121.

[70] *Ibid*.

[71] Henderson, p. 23; Kerber, *New York History*, XLVIII, No. 1, p. 37.

[72] Brian J. Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors Upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New York City Merchants, 1828-1844" (unpublished Ph.D., Department of History, New York University, 1974), pp. 187-190. Danforth says that merchants not involved in the southern trade were more likely to be Whigs.

[73] Kerber, New York History, XLVIII, No. 1, p. 37; William G. McLoughlin, Jr., *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959), pp. 108-109; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 4, 13-14; Sorin, p. 120. The abolitionists' disclaimer of the rumors and charges against them was published in the city's newspapers; see, for example, *The Man*, July 16, 1834.

UMI

[74] See Appendix 9 and Tables 5.1 and 5.2. Only two of the original ten officers of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society signed--William Goodell and Isaac T. Hopper. In its First Annual Report, pp. 13-14, the New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society said that it sponsored a petition and thanked Representative John Dickson for presenting it to the House of Representatives. Dickson's name is on the back of the petition.

[75] The four who signed the Manumission Society's petition from 1829 were Edward M. Bond, Charles Offen, Francis Pares, and Henry C. Spicer. The four who signed the petition from 1835 were Gilbert Vale, John Ditchett, Benjamin Offen, and George Gorum. Of the latter four Vale and Offen were English immigrants; and Vale, Ditchett, and Gorum were involved in Workingmen's politics. They are on Hugins' list of 850 Workingmen; see chapter four, part two, on the Paineites.

[76] Twenty-seven Workingmen signed the Manumission Society's petition in 1829; one signed the petition of 1831; three signed the petition of 1834; and eight signed the petition of 1835. As a proportion of the total signers, these Workingmen constituted 1.8% of the 1829 petition, 1.8% of the 1831 petition, 1.6% of the 1834 petition, and 3.3% of the 1835 petition. These figures describe a significant general pattern and help demonstrate the existence of an antislavery constituency in New York's labor movement. (Also see footnote 77.) The numbers themselves, however, need to be interpreted carefully.

The figures were arrived at by comparing Walter Hugins' list of 850 Workingmen to the petitions. The list, however, is seriously biased toward 1829 when the labor papers from which it is derived were more numerous and complete. Thus the relatively high proportion of Workingmen in 1835 is even more significant than appears in the numbers. In addition, Hugins' list is by no means inclusive: the Workingmen received 6,000 votes for their State Assembly ticket in 1829, for example. Thus the pattern of support that the numbers describe is most important. It indicates that some Workingmen were sympathetic to antislavery before the emergence of immediate abolition, that their sympathy was strained by the association of the cause with the evangelicals, and that after the riot of 1834 they were willing to voice their support once again despite their dislike of the Church and State party.

For the 27 Workingmen who signed the 1829 petition see footnote 31, chapter two. The one Workingman in 1831 was Robert Townsend, Jr. The three in 1834 were Samuel Kelley, Richard C. McCormick, and Morgan L. Smith. The eight in 1835 were Thomas Bussing, John Ditchett, Joseph G. Durell, George Gorum, Isaac Pierce, Gilbert Vale, Andrew Wilson, and John Woods. Ditchett, Vale, and Gorum were also Paineites.

[77] For example, the petition submitted in February, 1836,

included the names of John Commerford and Levi Slamm, both significant leaders of the Workingmen, whose members constituted almost 20 percent of the 65 identified artisan signers. Even two members of the Journeymen House Carpenters' Union signed, one of whom had signed the Manumission Society's earlier petition. Of the remaining seven petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia submitted before 1840, Workingmen on Hugins' list signed five; and one of the two on which they did not appear had only seventeen signers, most of whom were twenty-one years old or younger. Eight of the Workingmen signed more than one petition. Of course, all these Workingmen constituted small fractions of their respective political and union groups, much less of the total petition signers; yet their presence helps demonstrate the existence of an antislavery constituency in the labor movement.

The Workingmen who signed the petition from 1836 were John Commerford, John Haff, Zina H. Harris, Richard C. McCormick, James A. Pyne, James Richardson, John W. Richardson, Daniel A. Robertson, Levi D. Slamm, Gilbert Vale, Samuel Wallin, and Andrew Wilson. William H. Backus and Archibald Lucas were the Journeymen House Carpenters who signed the petition from 1836; Backus signed the Manumission Society's petition from 1829. The Workingmen who signed more than one petition were Robert Hogbin, Charles F. Hunter, Richard C. McCormick, James A. Pyne, Morgan L. Smith, Gilbert Vale, Samuel Wallin, and Andrew Wilson. On Commerford and Slamm see Hugins, pp. 69, 72-75.

[78] The ten members of the General Society were Samuel W. Benedict, Daniel Braine, Thomas Bussing, Mahlon Day, Daniel Fanshaw, George Hannah, Seymour Hoyt, Evert Marsh, John T. B. Maxwell, and Nathaniel Mead. Bussing was also a Workingman.

[79] See Appendix 9 and Table 5.1.

[80] The eleven members of the Manumission Society who signed were Thomas Bussing, Barney Corse, Israel Corse, Mahlon Day, Samuel Falconer, Richard Field, Robert Hicks, Richard Mott, Jr., William L. Stone, Ira B. Underhill, Edmund Willets.

[81] The seven members of the Colonization Society who signed were William Colgate, Israel Corse, Ogden Edwards, Sidney E. Morse, David M. Reese, William L. Stone, Ira B. Underhill.

[82] The other two former members of the Manumission Society were Israel Corse and Ira B. Underhill; on Stone see Richards, pp. 114-115.

[83] *The Man*, July 19, 1834. Evans' opinions on slavery will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

[84] Kerber, *New York History*, XLVII, No. 1, p. 37.

[85] Richards, pp. 40-46.

UMI

[86] Henderson, p. 44; Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, First Annual Report (New York: William S. Dorr, Printer, 1836), p. 11.

[87] Henderson, pp. 1, 41-46; Wyatt-Brown, p. 142; Richards, p. 64; Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, First Annual Report, pp. 2, 4-5, 11. The officers of this society included the daughter of John Rankin and the wife of Abraham L. Cox.

[88] Wyatt-Brown, p. 163.

[89] Richards, pp. 48-49.

[90] Wyatt-Brown, pp. 149-151.

[91] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-145, 149-151, 155-157, 163; Richards, pp. 16, 51-52.

[92] Wyatt-Brown, pp. 161-162.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-153.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 153; Charles H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York (1816 to 1860)* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1897), p. 299; Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone 1828-1851* (New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1970), pp. 172-173.

[95] Nevins, *Diary of Hone*, pp. 171-172.

[96] Richards, p. 16.

[97] Wyatt-Brown, pp. 161-163

[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[100] Henderson, pp. 129-130.

[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-129; Wyatt-Brown, pp. 48, 170-173; Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, *Third Annual Report* (New York: William S. Dorr, 1838), pp. 5-9.

[102] Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, *Third Annual Report*, p. 9.

[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[105] Sorin, p. 119.

[106] See Appendix 2; Sorin, pp. 109-111, 119; Wyatt-Brown, pp. 61-65. The coordinated campaign was indicated in the printed texts of the petitions praying for "full legal rights" to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia. (See Appendices 11, 12, and 13.) This form of the petitions was an effort led by the New York State Anti-Slavery Society to circumvent the gag resolutions by avoiding the word slavery in the text; Henderson, pp. 130-131.

[107] Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, First Annual Report, p. 16.

[108] Richards, p. 140. Richards also found artisans underrepresented compared to their share of the general population; see p. 141.

[109] See Appendix 18 for the men who signed more than one petition.

[110] See Appendix 18; chapter four, part one; Richard Carwardine, "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the 'New Measures,'" Journal of American History, LIX, No. 2 (September, 1972), 327-340.

[111] Richard Albert Edward Brooks, ed., The Diary of Michael Floy Jr.: Bowery Village 1833-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 117.

[112] Davis, Problem of Slavery, p. 450.

[113] Brooks, Diary of Michael Floy, pp. 14-17, for the revival; pp. 104, 117-118, 120, 122, 135, 140, 155, 156, for his antislavery activity; pp. 13, 76-77, 116-117, 214, for his politics; pp. ix, 191, for his father.

[114] The Liberator, June 6, 1845, as quoted in Herman Schlüter, Lincoln, Labor and Slavery (New York: Socialist Literature Co., 1913), p. 49.

[115] New York Sunday Morning News as quoted in Henderson, p. 221; Mandel, pp. 82, 88, 93; Schlüter, pp. 67-68.

[116] Davis, Problem of Slavery, pp. 364-365.

[117] Lewis Tappan, Life of Arthur Tappan (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1870), p. 329.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Davis, Problem of Slavery, p. 450; on English immigration see chapter one; see footnote 76.

[120] Foner, p. 76.

[121] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[122] *Working Man's Advocate*, October 1, 1831.

[123] *Working Man's Advocate*, November 21, 1835.

[124] Mandel, p. 82.

[125] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[126] Evans in open letters to Gerrit Smith printed in the *Working Man's Advocate* of June 22 and July 6, 1844, as cited in Joseph G. Rayback, "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade," *Journal of Economic History*, III and Supplement (1943), 155-156.

[127] Mandel, pp. 61-62, 74-75, 81, 93-95; Schlüter, pp. 46-47; Rayback, pp. 155, 161-163; Williston H. Lofton, "Abolition and Labor," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXXIII, No. 3 (July, 1948), 282-283. In my analysis of the labor movement's relation to abolition as well as of the secondary literature on the subject, I disagree with Lorman Ratner, *Powder Keg: Northern Opposition to the Antislavery Movement 1831-1840* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), pp. 62-67. He does not distinguish sharply between the labor movement's attitude toward slavery and toward abolition. It was usually against the former and ambivalent toward the latter. This position is evident in a statement of Evans' which Ratner quotes in part: "Evans,...told his readers that abolitionists were men 'actuated by a species of theological fanaticism, [who] hoped to free the slaves *more* for the purpose of adding them to their religious sect, than for love of liberty and justice.'" The rest of the quote immediately following reads: "but their desire to *free* the slaves, so far as they can do so by the force of moral [persuasion?], we believe to be a good and a just cause, and one that they have not attempted to advance by any but constitutional means." (*Working Man's Advocate*, November 21, 1835; Ratner quoted from p. 63.) I also think he misinterprets the secondary work of Mandel, Lofton, and Rayback when he says, "All three stress the diversity of attitudes among labor reformers on the abolition question. All agree that labor leaders were generally opposed to abolition." (Footnote 36, p. 66.) As cited above, Mandel disagrees with this assessment. Similarly, Lofton sums up his analysis by saying, "Some of the workers, their leaders, and their journals were indifferent toward the abolition movement--an attitude which sometimes boardered on active hostility. Other segments of the working classes were openly sympathetic to abolitionism and gave support to the movement....As the opposition to slavery became more intense in the North evidence indicates that labor leaders and labor papers gave increasing support to the antislavery cause. There was a realization that the

oppressing of the Negro slave in the South was a part of the trials of labor. More often did the labor papers stress the need to fight oppression of labor, whether it was of black slave labor, or white factory workers." (Lofton, The Journal of Negro History, XXXIII, No. 3, 282-283.

[128] Garrison as cited in Rayback, Journal of Economic History, (1943), 152-153.

[129] Mandel, pp. 89-92; Walters, pp. 117-118.

[130] Gilbert Osofsky, "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants, and the Dilemmas of Romantic Nationalism," American Historical Review, Vol. 80, No. 4 (October, 1975), 890.

[131] Ibid., pp. 903, 911.

[132] Mandel, p. 93.

[133] Lofton, Journal of Negro History, XXXIII, No. 3, 252.

[134] Ibid., pp. 253-255; Richards, p. 132; Mandel, p. 93-95; Schlüter, p. 55.

[135] Alice Dana Adams, The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), pp. 80-82.

[136] Schlüter, pp. 105-107; Ray Boston, British Chartists in America 1839-1900 (Totowa, N.J.: Manchester University Press, 1971), pp. 57-59, 63-64.

[137] Richards, p. 144.

[138] Ibid., p. 69.

[139] Ibid.

[140] See Appendix 18.

[141] See Appendix 13; all the blacks mentioned signed this petition.

[142] Wright as quoted in Sorin, p. 84.

[143] Davis, Problem of Slavery, pp. 361-363.

[144] William Birney, James G. Birney and His Times: The Genesis of the Republican Party (New York: Bergman Publishers, 1969), p. 418.

[145] Richards, p. 132.

[146] Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

THE LABOR EMPIRE AND ITS TRADIONALIST OPPONENTS: THE WORLD OF ARTISAN REFORM IN JACKSONIAN NEW YORK CITY

I

Throughout the nation's cities in the 1830s a flowering of labor organizations occurred based in the institutions and culture of the artisan communities. Journeymen's unions multiplied after 1832 as did city-wide unions of trades and even the National Trades' Union. Not limited to unions, the labor movement sponsored conventions, newspapers, parades, lectures, self-help cooperatives, strikes, reform proposals, and political action. New York was at the forefront of this labor revival as its General Trades' Union, the first of its kind in the '30s, initiated the organization of the National Trades' Union in 1834. Once again New York's radical artisans organized politically after their Workingmen's party disintegrated by 1831. Their goals were similar to those of the old party--public education, abolition of prison labor and imprisonment for debt, reform of the militia system, opposition to monopoly, and so on--only now they were the left wing of the Jacksonian Democratic Party, destined to rebel and reunite with Tammany Hall over the premier political issues of the decade, banking and currency. All these groups drew on the culture of the artisan community, particularly its tradition of radical republicanism and its institutions of labor press and trade societies. The labor movement in the 1830s constituted an interrelated set of organizations working for similar ends, appealing to a common constituency with common traditions, and led by the same kinds of men. One can call the whole movement the "labor empire," and it rivaled in scale and significance the analogous "benevolent empire" of the evangelicals. Together they formed the two main "parties" of reform in Jacksonian America.[1]

Both parties of reform sensed a crisis in the republic, but attributed it to different causes. Evangelicals usually saw it in the decay of Christian values, and the abolitionists among them identified it as slavery. The rebel artisans who formed the constituency of the labor empire felt the decay in their own trades. As noted in chapter one, masters were losing their old status as independent producers who retailed their own products, becoming instead hired contractors for merchants who not only supplied the capital and the raw materials but also sold the products in the expanding markets of the era opened up by the revolution in transportation. The master's household declined as the basic unit of production and along with it the old means of labor discipline it provided. Demanding a larger volume of products than before, the merchant capitalists also helped reduce the journeyman to simply a permanent wage earner from whom the boss tried to extract as much labor as possible in order to make a profit from his contract. Enlarged production also meant the increased utilization of the unskilled labor of prisoners, apprentices, women, and children, all performing simplified tasks that had previously been done by one skilled journeyman. As the traditional levels of skill within the crafts declined, new workers entered the trades at the same time when older forms of labor discipline were breaking down. Masters struggled for new means of control, often using evangelical religion; and journeymen themselves sought to limit the use of unskilled labor in the trades. These changes in the relations of production combined with the inflationary expansion of the '30s led the journeymen to organize unions, not only to increase wages but also to protect their status as skilled workers. The journeymen's unions provided the impetus for the labor empire.[2]

The conflicts and occasional accommodations between the labor and benevolent empires continued throughout the 1830s. The roots of their leaders in the radical artisans and pious middle class produced endemic suspicion. Neverthless, while they fought over political, economic and religious questions, they both shared a similar morality of industry, frugality, and temperance. Although rebel artisans attributed intemperance to the effects of poverty, for example, they opposed it as much as evangelicals who saw it as sin. Rebel artisans fought with evangelical loyalists among their class, not over the necessity of moral discipline in the "young mechanics," but over the political significance of its content and the means by which it was instilled. Should young mechanics have their own evangelical mission church, as the loyalists Brewster and Starr wanted? Or should all children receive equal, universal, public education which would instill in them a common republican virtue, as George Henry Evans wanted? Despite these conflicts, however, their common morality linked rebels, loyalists, and middle-class evangelicals while dividing them from the traditionalists who did not accept it at all. Evangelical Sabbatarians wanted to convert such people from their popular and often violent amusements and put them in church on Sunday. Rebels wanted to draw them out of the taverns and porterhouses and into the lecture rooms where they would learn of the workers' true interests as well as of the workings of the solar system or the best methods of roofing. The traditionalists were not simply passive, however. Their response to the evangelicals' abolitionist movement helped give the 1830s their reputation for popular violence and even pushed some of the rebels to support the abolitionists in reaction. They also had their own ideas about what was wrong with the republic.[3]

Journeymen's unions were not the only response to the decline of independence and skills in the city's artisan crafts. Nativists blamed the influx of immigrants who were uninitiated into the traditions of the trades and worked for low wages. The foreigners were also unfamiliar with the values and traditions of the republic and appeared to threaten its unity and stability. Nativists like Samuel F. B. Morse saw a monarchical and Catholic plot against the country which used the Irish flooding into the country as its Trojan horse. The northern anti-abolitionists saw their enemies as agents of an English plot hatched by aristocrats and manufacturers to subvert the beacon of liberty that inspired the masses of Europe. These conspiracy theories were part of the more general search for the causes of the republic's decline that pervaded the culture and politics of the period. Nativism and the anti-abolitionist movement appealed to members of all classes; but they found their popular audience among traditionalist workers, mostly native Americans, who were as steeped in the republican tradition as the Jacobin rebels of the labor empire. Rebels and traditionalists fought for the mantle of this heritage as they tried to define and control the explosive social and economic changes of the Jacksonian era. Their conflict profoundly shaped the meaning of popular republicanism and the history of the labor empire. An analysis of their relationship reveals the deep divisions and powerful traditions of New York's artisan community.[4]

II

The Bowery Boy of the 1830s was a traditionalist who grew out of the same popular republican culture that supported the labor empire. He became a distinct social type in the late '20s and was later celebrated in plays and novels. In his original form he was a native American:

> [The Bowery Boy] was not an idler and corner lounger, but mostly an apprentice, generally to a butcher, and he "ran with a machine" [served with a volunteer fire company]. He was but little seen in the day, being engaged at his employment; but in the evenings . . . . he appeared in propria persona, a very different character; his dress, a high beaver hat, with the nap divided and brushed in opposite directions, the hair on the back of his head clipped close, while in front the temple locks were

> curled and greased . . . a smooth face, a gaudy silk neck-cloth, black frock-coat, full pantaloons, turned up at the bottom over heavy boots designed for service in slaughterhouses and at fires; and when thus equipped, with his girl hanging on his arm, it would have been very injudicious to offer him any obstruction or to utter an offensive remark.
>
> When he advised one of his *confrères* to attack and beat a person, or defend himself, he would exclaim "Lam him" (Sam, Jim, or Jake, as the name might be) . . . .[5]

Thus the Bowery Boys were "mostly men of regular occupations and industry" and could include workers in other trades in the Bowery as well as day laborers.[6] While the Bowery Boy was a social type, there was a gang composed of his number and using the same name; in the '20s and '30s the gang was "a 'native American' faction, anti-Irish, anti-Catholic, anti-British, anti-anything that was exotic or unfamiliar."[7]

The Bowery Boy was typically associated with a volunteer fire company, one of the most distinctive and picturesque institutions of antebellum New York. The companies were like social clubs often uniting men of different status in the thrilling and physically demanding job of fighting the city's numerous fires. They were also daring and fiercely competitive, occasionally fighting each other over the honor of fighting the fire. A foreign observer in the late 1820s ran after one ponderous engine, pulled "smartly" along by "its crew of some six-and-twenty men, aided by a whole legion of boys, all bawling as loud as they could, ..." He was particularly taken back by the "fool-hardiness, with which they entered houses on fire, or climbed upon them by means of ladders, when it must have been apparent to the least skillful person, that their exertions were utterly hopeless."[8]

UMI

Another foreign observer in the '40s thought that many of the Bowery's fire-fighters were also interested in "politics, pugilism, and other rough sports of the time, such as dog-fighting and cock fighting."[9] These firemen, and Bowery Boys in particular, enjoyed the typical "rough sports" of traditionalist workers; and the common "election riots" of the period help one understand why politics was among them. The Bowery Boy was also like the firemen intensely patriotic. In the mid '20s several companies in the Bowery had special services on the 4th of July at which "the Declaration of Independence was read and patriotic addresses made. In later years the whole department paraded on the 4th, and on Washington's Birthday formed the habit of depositing a wreath at the base of Washington's statue in Union Square."[10]

The Bowery neighborhood itself supported this intense patriotism, in part because its diversity made native Americans even more self-conscious of their traditions. The Bowery was the main street of the rough and tumble east side that by 1800 was famous for "kaleidoscopic contrasts": "Prominent citizens lived on . . . [the Bowery] almost cheek-by-jowl with courtesans, groggeries, and manufacturing plants."[11] In the 1820s and '30s the manufacturing included the butchering center of the city and all the artisan trades associated with nearby shipbuilding yards. Packed on the Bowery were theaters, dance halls, beer halls, taverns, museums, oyster-houses, and boarding houses as well as almost every imaginable variety of shop. The street catered to sailors and the city's other numerous visitors besides the local population. Notably Tammany Hall was strategically placed in the vicinity in the middle of its constituency. But most of all the Bowery was famous as an entertainment center, especially on Saturday night after the citizens of the surrounding areas had been paid:

> It was at night, when candles and whale-oil lamps made what the street then considered a brilliant illumination, that the lower Bowery, about 1825-30, began to give promise of what it was to be in future years; the sidewalks thronged with pleasure-seekers, among them sailors with rolling gait, lusty, sleek-haired young butchers, mechanics, flashy girls, and bully boys from Five Points; the clink of glasses in the taverns and porter houses punctuating arguments over "free trade", "seamen's rights" (with many a curse for England), "foreigners" and "native Americans" (with now and then a fight); . . . . Here at one street corner is a "panclean band" (predecessor of the little German band), ...
>
> At another corner, clad in black velvet coat . . . Johnny Edwards, scale-maker and fanatic, is preaching an evangelical sermon to the mob or perhaps a political harangue . . . ."[12]

Like many lower-class preachers, Edwards was a full-time artisan and part-time evangelist. He literally preached while standing on his wagon "with scale-beams painted on its sides."[13] His ability to speak on politics or religion hints at the mixture of Protestantism and republicanism in the popular culture out of which both nativism and the labor empire grew. Edwards was not alone. Writing of Philadelphia in the 1840s, David Montgomery has shown how nativism appealed to artisans for whom Protestantism was a vital force and republicanism a deep commitment. The same powerful combination was evident in New York in the late '20s and early '30s. In 1833 the apocalyptic Millerites appeared in New York, predicting the end of the world in ten years. One of the principal gangs in the Bowery was the True Blue Americans who wore long black frock coats, like Edwards, and stove-pipe hats: " . . . their chief mission in life was to stand on street corners and denounce England and gloomily predict the immediate destruction of the British Empire by fire and sword."[14] The Bowery was noted for its lack of churches; but it did not lack sidewalk preachers, methodist and baptist congregations, or even the Fourth Free Presbyterian Church, all of which met in stores or rented halls. This evangelistic Protestantism could be a vehicle for militant republicanism as well as its corollary, the anti-English sentiment expressed in the Bowery's beer halls and the preaching of the True Blue Americans.[15]

This republicanism turned to popular violence when traditional institutions and folkways were threatened, particularly by alien forces like abolitionists, Irish immigrants, or even English actors who made disparaging remarks about America. Rioting, in fact, was an integral part of the politics and culture of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America. According to Eric Foner, "In an age of deference, the characteristic expression of lower-class discontent was not sustained political organization, but sporadic crowd activity," which was commonly "directed by members of the ruling elite for their own purposes."[16] Since radical artisans tried to build strong political organizations, they usually opposed this tradition of crowd violence. Just as radicals wanted to move traditionalist artisans from the tavern into the lecture hall so they also wanted to "move men from the streets into committee rooms, to create permanent forms of popular political expression."[17] Their goals were challenged by the upsurge of traditional popular violence in the 1830s evident in theater riots and anti-abolitionist mobs, both of which expressed the republican heritage that radicals tried to use for other ends.[18]

Representing the tradition of sporadic crowd activity, theater riots usually were instigated by anti-American remarks attributed to touring English actors. Such had been the occasion for violence at New York theaters in 1825, 1831, and 1832; and it would be the context for the huge Astor Place riot of 1848 in which twenty people were killed. The riots of 1831 and 1832 revolved around the British actor, Joshua R. Anderson, who had allegedly made some derogatory remarks about America and its people. He was shouted off the stage on October 13, 1831, when he appeared at the Park Theater. He tried again on the night of the 15th; but the theater was "filled to overflowing with men only," who bombarded him with apples, eggs, "and other missles."[19] Similar disturbances occurred the next night and when he tried to appear again in March. The mobs in October were appeased when the Park Theater's management covered the front of the building with eagles, "transparencies of patriotic subjects," and "American and tricolored flags."[20]

The presence of the French flag is not so puzzling if one remembers the huge parade of artisan trades in honor of the French Revolution of 1830. Pro-French and anti-English sentiments were integral parts of the popular republican tradition dating from the alliances of the revolutionary era.

Anti-English feelings also conditioned the popular reaction to the abolitionists, who continually looked to England and its reform movements as models. Notably, in the fall of 1833 before the Clinton Hall riot greeted the organization of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society in October, rumors had circulated in the city of Garrison's anti-American remarks while visiting the leaders of the English abolition movement. The association of abolition with England made it obnoxious to popular republican culture, even without its position on race. Thus on July 9, 1834, it required no change of opinion for the anti-abolitionist mob that broke into the Chatham Street Chapel to move over to the Bowery Theater and attack the English actor, William Farren, for criticizing America.[21]

The anti-abolitionist rioters of the mid 1830s expressed the same threatened and outraged republicanism as the theater riots. Throughout the nation, according to Leonard Richards, anti-abolitionists saw the abolitionists as pawns in an aristocratic English plot to subvert the "Great Republic of the West" which threatened European despotism: "The view of antislavery men as subversive tories allowed anti-abolitionists not only to visualize themselves as guardians of the past, defenders of orthodoxy, and protectors of the Union, but also to proclaim their faith in freedom, democracy, and equal rights."[22] Nativism and racism were some of the ways in which American workers reclaimed control over their lives while losing it on the job. Describing Lynn, Massachusetts, in this era, Alan Dawley has said that, "Even as manufacturers were taking over the central command of production, artisans successfully asserted control over vital folkways . . . . ," particularly through the communal traditions of their neighborhoods and towns.[23] These traditions could sustain the journeymen's unions. On the other hand, the New York anti-abolitionist riot of July, 1834, illustrates how traditionalist native American artisans sought to defend their communal institutions and folkways while using the name of republicanism, and in the process they helped widen the breach between themselves and rebel artisans.

The riots began on July 4th when a mob broke up a joint meeting of abolitionists and free blacks at the Chatham Street Chapel held to celebrate the nation's independence and the emancipation of slaves in New York State. For the next five days the rioters were content with disrupting meetings of free blacks and white abolitionists. The riot turned more violent on July 9th when a mob broke into the Chatham Street Chapel and held a pro-colonization meeting when the expected abolitionists did not show up. It then moved to the Bowery Theater where another mob was attacking an English actor for his unpatriotic remarks; later in the evening some of the crowd at the theater sacked Lewis Tappan's home, burning the furniture in the street. In the next two days "violence increased a hundred fold. Rioters roamed the city almost at will. First they concentrated on the homes, businesses, and churches of white abolitionists and 'amalgamators'; then they attacked the churches of prominent black abolitionists; and finally they razed and ransacked the Negro quarters."[24] Their targets included Arthur Tappan's home and silk goods store and the homes and churches of Rev. Ludlow and Rev. Cox. Yet blacks suffered the most, particularly when mobs took over the sixth ward, home of a large number of blacks as well as the Irish who had fought the Whigs in the recent election riots of April.[25]

In the sixth ward "the rioters spread the news that white families should keep their candles lit and stand before their windows so that they might be identified and their homes passed over . . . . This procedure enabled the rioters to sack and demolish Negro homes with efficiency and dispatch."[26] The notorious Five Points slum in the ward, and particularly homes on Anthony and Leonard Streets, suffered severly: "The distress occasioned to the families in this vicinity, both whites and blacks, . . . was very great. Although many of the inhabitants are of dissolute character, there are others, particularly a number of Irish families, whose only crime was that they were poor."[27] The riots were finally stopped by city authorities, deputized citizens, and especially by the militia, which threatened to use live ammunition. Notably, with the confirmation of several newspapers, The Man reported "that 300 to 400 Irishmen volunteered their services to aid the civil authorities in preserving the peace, ..."[28] Few of those tried after the riot were Irish; and one historian concludes that, "The draft riots of 1864 were a long way off."[29]

According to Leonard Richards the New York rioters were composed largely of skilled workers, unlike the typical anti-abolitionist riot in which the professional and mercantile

UMI

classes were most prominent. Since few of those arrested were previously known to the police, he thinks that "the 'dangerous classes' played only a minor part in the riot."[30] Rather, "The typical arrestee stood far above the common laborer in the occupational heirarchy. He had a special skill; he had a vocation, rather than a mere job; frequently he was either a shoemaker, a mason, a carpenter, a tailor, a brassfounder, a baker, a blacksmith, or a printer. He had little reason to fear black competition, for precious few Negroes followed any of these vocations."[31] Neither did the Irish. Given their status, the rioters were probably native American, a fact which helps explain the role of the Irish in stopping the violence. Thus Richards rejects the common explanation that the riot was the result of job competition among workers. If it had been, the Irish and the blacks should have been fighting each other since both competed for the lowest jobs. On the contrary, the rioters were defending their own families in overcrowded neighborhoods where a disproportionate number of blacks lived. Most of the rioters were from the four contiguous wards where practically all of the discriminately chosen targets were located. The popular resentment of racial "amalgamation" expressed these workers' true motives and fears: "Given their immediate environment, it would probably be their posterity, rather than someone else's, who would be mulattoized."[32] In a larger sense one can see the riots as a defense by native American workers of their families, neighborhoods, and traditions. This dimension of the riots is illustrated by a review of

UMI

the crucial night of July 9th when the mobs became more violent. The Bowery Theater figured prominently in the events, and it represented one of the traditions the rioters were defending.[33]

In the 1830s the Bowery Theater had a middling status among New York theaters, while the Park was more for the upper classes and the Chatham for the lower. Walt Whitman recalled a typical night at "The Old Bowery" in the 1830s when it was "pack'd from ceiling to pit with its audience mainly of alert, well-dress'd, full-blooded young and middle-aged men, the best average of American born mechanics . . . ."[34] Another contemporary observed the "rough youth" in the Bowery's fourth tier and commented that, "Plenty of native sharpness was noticeable in speech and looks among those skyward seats . . . ."[35] The predominately male audiences in New York's theaters were the "chief novelty" for visiting performers in the '30s.[36] Thus the "close-packed, shrieking, cat-calling, true Bowery crowd" was probably largely male and native American in these years.[37] The women who did attend the Bowery were "rough-clad but of decent looks," often with their whole families including "'children in arms'"[38] Peanuts, ham sandwiches and sausage were consumed in large quantities; on one evening a family even ate pork chops and then threw the bones down at acquaintances in the pit. The pit "was the domain of the sturdier males; . . . . and boys in their teens were proud when they grew able to cope with its billowing turmoil."[39] There strangers were often passed out over the heads of the packed audience when found in the place of a regular; and, "Sometimes between acts a countryman . . . was given this overhead pass, just for the fun of the thing; . . . ."[40] The Bowery was noted for its violent melodrama and direct interchanges between the actors and audience. In November, 1832, it was also where T. D. Rice had the New York opening of his original "Jim Crow" show. It was spectacularly successful and became a perennial favorite. The mob that broke into an African Methodist church in July, 1834, might have seen him at the Bowery: a young man mounted the pulpit and began preaching "in mock negro style" while his fellows "struck up a Jim Crow chorus."[41]

On July 9th an incident at the Bowery Theater drew the largest crowd, not the anti-abolitionist violence; but both were expressions of the same community and the same culture. Hot and muggy, the evening began typically when a crowd gathered outside the Chatham Street Chapel in anticipation of an abolitionist meeting. When the meeting did not materialize they broke in anyway and passed resolutions against abolition and for colonization. Part of this group then went to the Bowery Theater where a huge mob 5,000 strong had previously gathered to disrupt a benefit performance for the English stage-manager and actor, William Farren. It was rumored that Farren had insulted the American flag, and a circular had been passed around declaring "on the honor and oath of one Sentis, a butcher, that Farren had cursed the 'Yankees,' called them jackasses and said he would gull them whenever he could."[42] The New York Sun enflamed popular anglophobia and encouraged the use of violence. On the night of the benefit an estimated 500 to 1000 men from the crowd outside "broke open the doors, took possession of every part of the house, committed every species of outrage, hissed and pelted poor Hamblin [the theater's manager], not regarding the talisman which he relied upon, the American flag, which he waved over his head."[43] Hamblin was English himself; and the mob would only listen to "American Forrest," a popular actor, whose booming voice assured the tumultuous crowd that Farren had made a hasty exit out the back and would not perform.[44]

The mayor at the head of about one hundred watchmen was able to clear the theater, but part of the huge crowd ran off to Lewis Tappan's house on Rose Street, led, in some accounts, by a man on a white horse. Forewarned of potential trouble, Tappan had removed his family to Harlem earlier in the day. Part of the mob, probably local gangs called "'Battenders'" and "'Huge Paws,'" broke into the house and hurled its contents out the windows: "The toughs built a huge pile of bedding, pictures, furniture, and window frames in the center of the street. Soon, the shadows from the bonfire's glow danced grotesquely on the walls of the ruined house and the Quaker hall opposite."[45] However, when one of the intruders grabbed a framed picture of George Washington, another shouted, "'It's Washington! For God's sake, don't burn Washington!'"[46] The cry echoed outside in the crowd; and the picture was passed out of the house, placed on a nearby porch overlooking the scene, and guarded by some in the gangs. Finally, by one account, the crowd retreated before a contingent of firemen and police, but another writer says it proceeded deliberately from the scene with Washington's portrait as a standard.[47]

The complex of racism, nativism, and militant republicanism evident in these incidents was a powerful challenge to rebels like George Henry Evans, who edited New York's two labor papers of the time, The Man and the Working Man's Advocate. His response to the riots reveals the widening gulf between rebels and traditionalists as popular republicanism took on a more conservative and defensive cast in the 1830s. Instead of attacking the aristocracy or employers, the traditionalists were using the republican heritage against other elements of the people, who were supposed to unite in defense of their rights.

Evans called the anti-abolitionist disturbances the "Colonization Riots" because he thought they were instigated by the city's colonizationist editors, particularly James Watson Webb. In this analysis he was supported by both the contemporary Journal of Commerce and modern scholars. Evans had previously disagreed with the colonizationists, thinking that their plan was a deliberate attempt to perpetuate slavery while "withdrawing the attention of many well meaning and philanthropic persons from practicable measures of abolishing it."[48] His basic position on the riots, as noted in chapter five, was that they violated the civil liberties necessary in a republic. To Evans everyone, both white and black, had the "unquestionable right of discussing any subject without molestation," even when the majority had opposite opinions.[49] Evans' general position on slavery and the riots put him in the same camp with people like the Tappans whom he usually violently opposed on religious and political questions. On the riots, for example, he agreed with most of the positions of the *Journal of Commerce*, which was one of the city's most out-spoken opponents of unions and strikes.[50]

Evans also defended free blacks, the English actor, William Farren, and Catholics. Any one of these positions would have earned him the enmity of the rioters. For example, he thought the colonizationist editors were directing their attacks particularly at the antislavery efforts of free blacks; he replied, "Let the mobites imagine themselves in the situation of the blacks, and if they have any feeling of manhood about them they will cease their senseless opposition to a righteous cause."[51] As part of their tactics, the editors were "endeavoring to foster an unreasonable prejudice against color, a prejudice calculated to excite and keep up a state of enmity between the whites and the blacks, which *might*, in the end, produce bloodshed, and which *must*, at any rate be highly injurious to both."[52] Evans also supported a subscription to indemnify blacks for the damage suffered in the riot, although he thought government should be the one to reimburse them. Perhaps most significant, he did not pander to the fears of amalgamation, saying that Rev. Henry G. Ludlow should not have even bothered to publicly deny the false rumor that he had presided at an interracial marriage. Adding to his problems with the rioters and their friends, Evans

UMI

defended William Farren, who did not say the things attributed to him but rather "was grossly insulted by a vagabond."[53] Finally, Evans opposed anti-Catholic nativism in August, '34 when he condemned as a polt of the Whigs the riot against the Ursuline Convent in Charleston, Massachusetts. Similarly he defended Roger B. Taney, then Secretary of the Treasury, against an attack on his Catholicism in the Senate.[54]

The most surprising aspect of Evans' response to the riots was his characterization of the mob. He thought that the men who sacked Lewis Tappan's house were "apparently southerners, in all probability many robbers and pickpockets, and, of course, a large number of those dregs of society, the produce of bad laws, who are always ripe for disturbances of any kind. Several of these were arrested, ... We trust that an example will be made of these wretches, and that a larger number will be captured if any further disturbances of the kind are attempted."[55] In his characterization of the rioters Evans agreed with the abolitionists, although, given his politics, one would expect him to be more sensitive to who they were. His own list of ten men arrested that night included a "journeyman black-smith," a "journeyman mechanic," a "Day laborer," a "common sailor," a "dock worker," and a "clerk in a counting house"; and none of the ten were known criminals.[56] Of course, by Leonard Richards' account, most of the rioters were skilled workers who lived near the sites they attacked. Since Evans himself was a master printer who in 1830 employed six journeymen and one apprentice, his own social and economic position might have biased him against workers below him in status. Yet he had previously proven quite capable of defending day laborers against neglect by master artisans; and, of course, he sided with the journeymen who organized unions. What probably caused his response was the violence itself, which he repeatedly and rigorously condemned; at one point in July he said that "years cannot wash away the deep injury and disgrace which our city is suffering . . . . from these scenes of violence and outrage."[57]

Popular violence, as in the riots of July, '34, was one of the working-class traditions which rebel artisans usually opposed, preferring instead the sustained commitment to radical politics which presupposed the self-discipline of a more modern set of values. Eric Foner has described how in revolutionary Philadelphia the Fort Wilson riot helped divide the radical artisan leaders from their allies among laborers and lesser mechanics. An analogous phenomenon occurred in New York City in 1834, helping to divide the radicals of the labor empire from traditionalist artisans and laborers, like the Bowery Boys. This trend was evident not only in Evans' reaction to the riots but also in the fact that some of the radicals started to sign the antislavery petitions again after 1834. They had signed the Manumission Society's petition of 1829, but their support fell off when the evangelicals took over the leadership of the movement. Part of the explanation lies in their recoil from the popular violence that they associated with the abolitionists' enemies as well as in their own antislavery sentiments. In addition, the Englishmen among them could have been reacting to the anti-English ideology of the rioters. Most important, the signatures of these rebel artisans on the evangelicals' antislavery petitions indicated that on this issue they were isolated from a large part of their own constituency and allied with their normal opponents. The antislavery issue helped separate the labor empire from its working-class constituency. Nativism did the same. Nevertheless, the labor empire had a strong popular following, although it was unable to unite the city's producers in the name of the common people of the republic.[58]

III

The labor empire originated in the rebellion of journeymen in the early 1830s. The growth of their unions in New York City was phenomenal, starting from practically nothing at the beginning of 1833 to an estimated 11,500 members in New York and Brooklyn in the summer of 1834. This figure constituted a fifth of New York City's white labor force, a proportion of organization equalled nationally in the non-agricultural work force only in the twentieth century.[59] Twenty-nine unions appeared in New York City in 1833, the year in which most were organized. The growth of the union movement in other large eastern cities was similar. A wave of strikes followed the organization of the unions with the peak reached in the inflationary years of 1835 and '36. While the immediate cause for most of these strikes was the reduction of wages by inflation as well as employer design, the more fundamental cause for both the unions and the strikes lay in the reorganization of production under merchant capitalism. In the 1830s the journeymen changed traditional Jacobin political culture by applying it to their new position as a permanent wage-earning class.[60]

The ideas expressed by the labor empire were not new. Monopoly, special privilege, and aristocracy were typically castigated in the name of the producers' republic. Deriving partly from the alliance of radicals with the Jacksonian Democrats, the newest emphasis was on paper money as a source of the workers' plight. On the other hand, the situation of the labor movement was new, and old and accepted ideas applied to a new situation acquired new meanings. It made a great deal of difference if one was primarily a wage earner instead of a future master, and it was critically important if one's opponent was a boss employer very actively engaged in running his business and not simply an "idle parasite" or "purse proud aristocrat." Applied in this situation the idea of the producers receiving their just reward legitimized strikes against an opposing class of merchant capitalists and master employers. In contrast, practically all classes could unite against idle parasites. Similarly the traditional Jacobin ideal of independence--exemplified in household production by master craftsmen--could be used by journeymen to justify union organizations and the class solidarity. The rebel journeymen developed a philosophy and program called Equal Rights, which became the common property of the whole antebellum labor movement:

> They defined equal rights according to their interests in society: a general elevation in the moral and material condition of labor and an equalization of the upper and lower ranks of the social order. This definition also set them apart from others of the same period who pursued their own versions of equality--Women's Rights advocates, Abolitionists, and anti-monopoly entrepreneurs . . . . to the worker, whose central interests were bound up with wage payments--not property, ownership, or capital accumulation--equality did not mean an opportunity to win a fortune but a chance to live in comfort and dignity.[61]

The new class consiousness of the journeymen challenged politically involved artisans like Evans who could never quite decide whether unions and strikes were permanent or a passing episode. Their political theories told them that employers and journeymen should unite since as the people they had common interests in abolishing monoply and creating that society in which there was "only one class, . . .of CITIZENS enjoying in equality and abundance the fruits of their industry, and nothing more."[62] Even the General Trades' Union said in an address to the public that, "The Convention trust that the day is not far distant when the just and honorable among the employers will see the necessity of obliterating the line of demarkation [sic] still existing between employer and employed, and by friendly conferences doing away [with] the necessity of those frequent strikes which are alike detrimental to themselves and to the public."[63] The newness of the journeymen's situation made it difficult to interpret even for themselves and their friends. Part of the difficulty of analyzing the whole labor empire is that the journeymen's class position led them to organize, giving the stimulus and power to the whole movement; and yet at the same time it introduced division into the artisan community and its traditions. The debate

UMI

between unionists and political activists within the movement was in part the consequence of the class position of the journeymen, whose unity required the exclusion of political questions and whose strike activity could destroy the cooperation among artisans necessary for political success. And yet the labor empire held together largely because of the artisans' powerful republican political heritage and the common objectives of "elevating" the laboring classes and lessening inequality.

The formative event in the history of the New York union movement was the strike of the Journey House Carpenters in May and June of 1833. The strike resulted when the journeymen demanded an increase in pay. Under the pressure of the strike the union grew from its original 24 members in April to 150 within two months. Led by the Typographical Society, fifteen trades in the city held meetings, passed resolutions, and sent money in support of the Journeymen House Carpenters Union. With this aid the carpenters held out for a month and obtained the wage increase. Within a few days after the strike the printers called on the city's journeymen to form a general union for the defense of their rights; no longer would they "'suffer employers to appropriate an undue share of the avails of the labourer to his disadvantage.'"[64] In July and August, nine trades organized the General Trades' Union with a strike fund and the authority to sanction strikes of the constituent unions. Within three months after its organization the General Trades' Union successfully supported a strike by the journeymen tailors. To celebrate the occasion it held a massive parade in which the twenty-one organizations then in the union and an estimated 4000 men marched up Broadway and the Bowery "'all wearing the badges of their respective Societies.'"[65] The parade represented a long tradition of the artisan community which had turned out in similar fashion for the Federal Constitution, the Erie Canal, and the French Revolution of 1830. Only this parade was not an attempt to involve the whole community like these previous events. There were only unions in the parade; it was organized labor on the march. The very existence of the General Trades' Union challenged the ideal of a united republican citizenry that had been celebrated as recently as the parade in honor of the French Revolution of 1830.[66]

The General Trades' Union had an active career for the next three years. In the summer of 1834 it initiated the organization of a National Trades' Union of city-central labor bodies like itself. In the next two years an inflationary boom led to a mass of strikes by its affiliated unions as the journeymen tried to keep their wages ahead of the rising cost of living. The General Union had to meet several times a month to handle the business. Most of its strikes in 1835 were successful, and it enthusiastically began issuing its own paper, the National Laborer, and hoped to build its own hall. In 1836 the strikes continued, some of which resulted in cooperatives set up by the journeymen to compete with their employers. This year the employers also became more efficiently organized. They took the striking journeymen tailors to court, where Judge Ogden Edwards found them guilty of conspiracy.[67]

The city's trades held a massive protest meeting against the decision in City Hall Park. One of the calls to the meeting was dubbed the "Coffin Handbill," part of which read: "Mechanics and workingmen! a deadly blow has been struck at your Liberty! The prize for which your fathers fought has been robbed from you! The Freemen of the North are now on a level with the slaves of the South! with no other privileges than laboring that drones may fatten on your life-blood! . . . . On Monday [the day of sentencing], the Liberty of the Workingmen will be interred! . . . . Go! every Freeman, every Workingman, and hear the hollow and the melancholy sound of the earth on the Coffin of Equality!"[68] The resolutions of the huge meeting called the decision a tyrannous aristocratic plot contrary to "the spirit and genius of our Republican government" and worthy of just resistance in the tradition of "that immortal band of Mechanics," the Boston Tea Party.[69] The meeting resolved to form a new political party "around the laboring classes and their friends" because the two major parties were in alliance "to crush the laboring men."[70] Thus within a few years the New York union movement ended up actively engaged in the politics it had tried to avoid.[71] It justified its political action, like its union activity, with the Jacobin tradition stemming from the Revolution.

Politics had been an early issue in the union movement.

UMI

In the first meeting of the National Trades' Union in New York during August, 1834, the question of politics was seriously discussed. The debate arose over a projected statement on "the social, civil, and political condition of the laboring classes of the country."[72] Several delegates objected to the word "political," asking that it be struck from the resolution. They thought that one of the major parties might be allied against them because of it and that the term would discourage participation in the National Trades' Union by their own unions and members. Thinking that unions should concentrate more on wages and hours, they had in mind the demise of the Philadelphia Trades' Union in the late '20s after it entered politics. The proponents of the original resolution rejected the established parties but nonetheless defined the concerns of the unions as political, since politics was the "'science of the happiness of man.'"[73] One man asked, "Why, as a whole, were the useful classes so degraded? The reason was obvious: the policy pursued by their legislators was not their own policy, not that policy calculated to promote their welfare. They had become degraded by bad legislation; they had got into difficulty by it, and how were they to get out but by legislating themselves out? They could only advance their interests by choosing such men for legislators as were identified with them."[74] He expressed the classic republican position which attributed economic problems to defects in political institutions. According to him the true politics of unions was to restore to the laboring classes their rights and to defend their interests. Although

UMI

none of the delegates really rejected this general statement of their politics, the word "political" was struck out anyway for fear of misunderstanding and disunity. Nevertheless, the man who moved to amend the resolution by substituting the word "intellectual" for "political" said that "he was fully satisfied that the working classes would never effectually remedy the evils under which they were suffering until they carried their grievances to the polls, ..."[75] Thus the delegates to the National Trades' Union knew that the goals they pursued had political significance, and the confrontation of the New York unionists with Judge Edwards bore out their assumptions.[76]

The distinction between the unionists and the artisan political and reform activists was a functional one within a common movement. The experience of the Philadelphia General Trades' Union did not prove that artisans should avoid politics but that the Union was poorly organized for political activity; instead of a city-wide union, political ward organizations were needed to match the electoral divisions of the city. In fact, the labor movement had been involved in politics and reform almost from the beginning, although the individual unions may have shunned both. The National Trades' Union was the forum where the larger political and reform concerns of the unionists were discussed most clearly. Its original purposes included not only the establishment of unions throughout the country and the enhancement of the "pecuniary interests of the laboring classes" but also the advancement of their "moral and intellectual condition."[77] To the unionists the improvement of the workers' intellectual

UMI

condition was the precondition for their successful political activity. For example, the lectures at the mechanics' institutes were not just to promote self-improvement but also political awareness, just as the constant demand for an adequate public school system was a means for politically enlightening the "producing classes." Since the National Trades' Union had these larger reform goals it is not surprising to find it advocating an "Equal, Universal, Republican system of Education," a series of lectures to the nation's mechanics, reform of child and female labor in factories, reservation of public lands for actual settlers, the promotion of workers' cooperatives, and an attack on speculation and banking.[78] Of course, the National Trades' Union also promoted the ten-hour day, strikes, union organization, and the increase of wages.[79]

New York's artisans had been vitally involved in these political and reform issues well before they were discussed in the National Trades' Union. Inspired by the union movement, men like George Henry Evans had begun organizing artisans and tradesmen in preparation for the climactic New York charter election of April, 1834, which was seen throughout the country as a test of Jackson's strength in maintaining his veto of the U. S. Bank and the removal of the government's deposits from it. Soon to be called the Equal Rights party, these new groups included familiar veterans of the old Workingmen's party and a significant number of Paineites. They saw in the Bank War a crisis in the maintenance of the republic in which they were opposed by their familiar aristocratic enemy "who endeavored to deprive us of the right of suffrage; who opposed the last war, [of 1812] and almost every other democratic measure that has ever been brought forward in our State or General Governments."[80] The enemy now also included "employers" who tried to tell their workers how to vote and schemers trying to divide the city's craftsmen and destroy "the great safeguard of our rights, a UNION OF TRADES."[81]

Both sides could claim victory in the election, the Democrats because they won the mayorality and the Whigs because they had won a majority of the common council. The Whigs in fact had more reason to be jubilant since they had only recently organized. (One historian dates the origins of the national Whig party from this election in New York.) Since only part of their program had been achieved, the radicals went on to organize formally in each ward behind a program opposing paper money and all banks, not just the national bank. Paper money and banks were sources of the monopoly, speculation, and special privilege by which workingmen were deprived of the just value of their labor by the "purse proud aristocracy." The artisan political radicals of the '30s stressed monopoly and special privilege as the source of their problems instead of the inequal distribution of property that had preoccupied the Workingmen's party in 1829 under Skidmore's leadership. These issues fit more closely into the Jacobin view that republican society was basically just unless interfered with by special interests using the state for their advantage. Thus the artisan radicals of the '30s could easily cooperate with the Jacksonian Democrats in their attack on the monopolistic national bank and became in fact the left wing of the New York Democracy.[82]

In 1834 a feud started with Tammany Hall, when the radicals demanded a pledge by all candidates against banks and paper money. When Tammany refused to have its candidates sign the pledge before the November, 1835, elections, the radicals broke with it, substituting some candidates of their own. They were dubbed the Locofocos because they foiled Tammany's attempt to disrupt their meeting of October 29 by lighting matches, called locofocos, when the Tammany leaders turned out the lights. In 1836 the Locofoco or Equal Rights party allied itself with the journeymen who were aroused over Judge Edwards' decision against the tailors; and they profited from the declaration of the mass meeting in the park--initiated in part by the "Coffin Handbill"--that a new political party was needed to meet the needs of workingmen. With the aid of the aroused unions the Equal Rights party achieved its greatest success in the spring election of 1837 when its votes insured the defeat of Tammany's mayoral candidate. Most followers of the Equal Rights party rejoined Tammany when it then adopted stronger anti-monopoly and hard money policies to curry their favor. The radical artisans of New York and other eastern cities helped push the Jacksonian Democratic party to the left.[83]

In 1837, when the Equal Rights party reunited with Tammany Hall, the journeymen's unions collapsed under the pressure of the financial panic and ensuing depression.

The New York General Trades' Union and the National Trades' Union suffered the same fate. While the depression was the main cause for the collapse of the labor empire, it had suffered from internal weaknesses which prevented it from fulfilling its hope of speaking for producers in an effort to save the republic. The Equal Rights party, for example, remained a faction of the Jacksonian Democrats rather than a third party in its own right, like the Workingmen of 1829. Only once in the '30s did it obtain half the proportion of the total vote achieved by the Workingmen in their first year.[84] Part of its problem was that the producers it hoped to unite were becoming ideologically divided, not simply separated by trades or their status as masters and journeymen. The popular racism expressed in the anti-abolitionist riots of July, '34, divided traditionalists and rebel artisans. Similarly, nativists reshaped the common republican heritage along with the journeymen; but the political party they organized drew strength away from the Equal Rights party.

Like the Equal Rights party, the nativists in New York ran their first ticket in the fall elections of 1835 and were absorbed into the major party closest to them in 1837, the Whigs. Nevertheless, the nativists appealed to some rebel artisans with their skillful use of the republican heritage. When the Native American Democratic Association was formed on June 10, 1835, part of its public statement read:

> Resolved, That we as Americans will never consent to allow the government established by our Revolutionary forefathers to pass into the hands of foreigners, and that while we open the door to the oppressed of every nation and offer a home and an asylum, we reserve to

> ourselves the right of administering the government in conformity with the principles laid down by those who have committed it to our care.[85]

As David Montgomery has said, the nativists had popular appeal when they successfully "draped the movement with the most cherished symbols of astisan culture."[86] The nativists' new paper, appropriately titled The Spirit of '76, obviously had this end in mind. However the paper immediately ran into trouble with the more conservative majority of the party because it refused to attack the Equal Rights movement; and it was read out of the party. Samuel F. B. Morse, the nativist mayoral candidate in 1836, had similar problems since he described himself as a man of "'Democratic principles of the Jeffersonian school, as they stand opposed to aristocracy in all its shapes, to ruinous monopolies, to a union of church and state.'"[87] He was a nativist because of the "danger to these ideals presented by riots and lawlessness instigated by 'priest controlled machines.'"[88] The nativists helped reshape the republican heritage by using it against another part of the people who were supposed to be united in defense of their rights. They also had a powerful appeal among the traditionalist workers like the Bowery Boys.[89]

The problems of the labor empire did not simply derive from its conflicts with traditionalists like the nativists and the Bowery Boys; just as important, its program proved ineffective for correcting the abuses it hoped to remedy. The plight of the journeymen was not primarily a consequence of the perversion of the country's political institutions but rather resulted from the economic transformations of laissez-faire capitalism. The attacks on monopoly, paper money, and special privilege did little to meet the challenge. George Henry Evans recognized this inadequacy when he turned to land distribution as the real solution to the workers' plight. Writing in 1842 he said, "Early in the struggle of the Working Men, I came to the conclusion that the resumption of the natural right of the soil was the all-important object to be contended for by the Working Men, the only measure that could secure every man the fruits of his industry; and twelve years' reflection have only tended to confirm that opinion."[90] Although Evans was probably overestimating his early commitment to land reform, he was in fact returning to the effort of Skidmore to apply the essentially political content of the Jacobin heritage to the problems of inequality created by the new economic order. The definition of land as a natural right exemplified the endeavor. While Evans disagreed with Skidmore on particulars, he thought Skidmore had correctly defined the problem and even attributed the early success of the Workingmen to their bold attack on all oppression including the "Monopoly of the Soil." In later abandoning "first principles" the party had let itself be used by conservative schemers and lost its unity and appeal.[91] By joining Skidmore in the effort to redistribute property, Evans isolated himself from the main political thrust of the republican tradition. While he competed with the antislavery movement for the attention of reformers in the '40s, abolitionists were able to appeal more effectively to most republicans with their doctrine of the Slave Power, a vision of an aggressive South led by slaveholders fundamentally opposed to republican values.

Essentially a political ideology, American republicanism in the Jacksonian era was defensive in its stance. Reformers sought to define the sources of the republic's decline and usually found them in external threats, whether from England or the papacy. The abolitionists' vision of an aggressive South fit into this pattern of thought well. Slavery and the Slave Power were alien to the true American Republic and subverted it by political aggressions. In the later '30s and 1840s issues like slavery in Texas and the gag resolutions made this interpretation more compelling, and artisans in greater and greater numbers began to defend the republic against slavery's attacks. The popular violence of traditionalists against abolition pushed some rebels in the same direction. Like nativism, abolition also competed with the Jacobins for the mantle of the republican heritage; and the abolitionists ultimately made a more convincing claim. With its political core and its idealization of American institutions, the republican tradition aided abolition in building an artisan constituency, while at the same time, the character of republicanism helped frustrate the efforts of the labor empire to apply it to its economic problems.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The existence of a labor empire of reform has been obscured by John R. Commons' separation of unions from political and reform groups. The Commons school saw labor unions as practical and progressive and labor politics and reform as visionary and nostalgic. The unions organized the hard-headed workers, while the political groups expressed the "panaceas" of the visionary intellectuals who usually were not workers anyway. The heritage of this distinction between unions and political reform colors Walter Hugins' Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class, the most detailed analysis of the Jacksonian labor movement in New York. More recent scholars have called the distinction arbitrary, however. Alan Dawley notes, for example: "The Wisconsin School of labor historians had usually posited a conflict between trade unionism and general social reform, seeing the former as forward looking and the latter as backward looking; from the actual point of view of laboring people through most of the nineteenth century, however, these were complementary, not conflicting, aspirations." Louis Arky and David Montgomery make similar points. In Beyond Equality, for example, Montgomery sees simply a difference of function between unions and political reform within a common movement working for common ends. As will be seen here, the debates on politics within the National Trades' Union reveal that the delegates knew they pursued goals of political significance but avoided alliance with the existing political parties. The main point, however, is not that unions pursued goals of political import but that unions were part of a larger movement of artisan based radical reform in the 1830s. See John R. Commons, et al., History of Labour in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), I, pp. 10-12, 17-18; John R. Commons and Helen L. Sumner, "Introduction to Volumes V and VI," A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, ed. John R. Commons, et al. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), V, pp. 19-20; Walter Hugins, Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 76-79; Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 64-65; Louis Arky, "The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations and the Formation of the Philadelphia Workingmen's Movement," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVI, No. 2 (April, 1952), 173; David Montgomery, Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872 (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. x, 135, 139-140, 195-196.

On the benevolent empire see Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844 (A Harbinger Book; New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), pp. 17-19; Bertram Wyatt-Brown applies the term party to the benevolent empire in his Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969), p. 45.

[2] See this dissertation, chapter one, part two, and chapter three, part three.

[3] See this dissertation, chapter three, part three, and chapter four, part one.

[4] Leo Hershkowitz, "New York City, 1834-1840, A Study in Local Politics" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1960), p. 119; Louis Dow Scisco, Political Nativism in New York State (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1968), pp. 21-22; Leonard L. Richards, "Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 62, 66.

[5] Charles H. Haswell, Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York (1816 to 1860) (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1897), pp. 270-271.

[6] Ibid., p. 355; Alvin F. Harlow, Old Bowery Days: The Chronicles of a Famous Street (New York: D. Appleton & Co., MCMXXXI), p. 195.

[7] Ibid., pp. 185-186, 296, quote on 186.

[8] Captain Basil Hall, Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828, as quoted in Bayard Still, Mirror for Gotham: New York as Seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1956), pp. 107-108.

[9] Harlow, p. 193.

[10] Ibid., pp. 201, 214, quote on 214; Haswell, pp. 195, 201-202; for an analysis of fire companies in Philadelphia in the 1840s see Bruce Laurie, "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940, ed. Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), pp. 71-87; Paul Owen Weinbaum, "Mobs and Demagogues: The Response to Collective Violence in New York City in the Early Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Rochester, 1971), pp. 20-24; Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 48-51.

[11] Harlow, pp. 153, 182, quote on 153.

[12] Ibid., pp. 174-175; see also pp. 141-142, 147-148,

171-172, 176-177, 216-220, 284; Haswell, pp. 356-357.

[13] Harlow, p. 175.

[14] Herbert Asbury, "The Old-Time Gangs of New York," *The American Mercury*, XI, No. 44 (August, 1927), 483; Harlow, p. 286.

[15] David Montgomery, "The Shuttle and the Cross: Weavers and Artisans in the Kensington Riots of 1844," *Journal of Social History*, V, No. 4 (Summer, 1972), 430-431; Haswell, p. 280; Harlow, pp. 163-164, 227.

[16] Foner, p. 53.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[18] *Ibid*., pp. 53-56.

[19] Haswell, pp. 260-261; Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone* (New York: Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1970), p. 50.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 49; Weinbaum, pp. 60-62, 161-163; David Grimsted, *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture 1800-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 68.

[21] See this dissertation, chapter four, part four; Richards, pp. 62-63, 68-69; Wyatt-Brown, pp. 104-105.

[22] Richards, pp. 69-70.

[23] Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 56-57.

[24] Richards, p. 118.

[25] Wyatt-Brown, p. 119; Weinbaum, p. 10; Carol Groneman Pernicone, "The 'Bloody Ould Sixth': A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Rochester, 1973), pp. 22, 35.

[26] Richards, p. 120.

[27] *The Man*, July 14, 1834.

[28] *The Man*, July 19, 1834; Evans' underline; this story is confirmed by additional sources cited in Linda K. Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History*, XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1967), 34-35.

UMI

[29] Ibid., p. 35; Richards, p. 113; Weinbaum, p. 44; compared to Richards, Weinbaum thinks that repressing the riot was relatively easy once the authorities resolved to do it.

[30] Richards, p. 151.

[31] Ibid., pp. 151-152.

[32] Ibid., pp. 152-154.

[33] Ibid., pp. 84-85, 113, 115, 136-140, 149, 152-154.

[34] Walt Whitman, "The Old Bowery," as quoted in Grimsted, p. 55.

[35] Haswell, p. 362.

[36] Still, p. 94.

[37] Haswell, p. 362.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Harlow, p. 276.

[40] Ibid.

[41] The Man, July 16, 1834; its underline; Grimsted, p. 56.

[42] Harlow, p. 291.

[43] Diary of Philip Hone as quoted in George C. D. Odell, Annals of the New York Stage (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), III, pp. 687-688.

[44] Harlow, pp. 291-292; Wyatt-Brown, p. 118; Richards, pp. 116-118; Odell, pp. 518-519, 687-688; Weinbaum, pp. 64-66.

[45] Wyatt-Brown, p. 118.

[46] Harlow, p. 292.

[47] Wyatt-Brown, pp. 117-118; Harlow, p. 292; Thomas Picton, Rose Street; Its Past, Present and Future (New York: Russell Brothers, 1873), pp. 114-115; Herbert Asbury, The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 39.

[48] The Man, June 9, 1834.

[49] The Man, July 14, 1834, for the quote; see also July 17, 1834.

[50] The Man, July 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 1834; Weinbaum, p. 92; John R. Commons, et al., ed., A Documentary History

of American Industrial Society (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), V, pp. 209-211.

[51] The Man, July 10, 1834.

[52] The Man, July 14, 1834.

[53] The Man, July 12, 1834; see also July 11.

[54] The Man, April 30, July 15, July 26, 1834.

[55] The Man, July 12, 1834.

[56] The Man, July 12, 1834.

[57] The Man, July 14, 1834, for the quote; Working Man's Advocate, February 20, 1830; Richards, pp. 150, 155.

[58] Foner, pp. 53-56, 176-178; this dissertation, chapter five, parts two and three.

[59] To arrive at this figure of one fifth I determined the total number of merchants, professionals, and shopkeepers in the New York City Directories for 1829 and 1840, utilizing my samples of these works; I then subtracted these figures from the total of white males 20 years and over in the 1830 and 1840 federal censuses; finally I divided 11,500 by the resulting numbers, obtaining 30.4% of the 1830 figure and 20.4% of the 1840 figure. I took the lower percentage because the 11,500 includes Brooklyn. The total of 11,500 is included in an estimate of the nation's organized workers in the Working Man's Advocate, June 21, 1834, and in The Man, June 20, 1834; these figures are reprinted in Commons, et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, VI, p. 191. For a discussion of the size of the nation's organized labor force see Maurice F. Neufeld, "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson," Labor History, X, No. 1 (Winter, 1969), 10-11; for the samples see Appendices 20 and 22.

[60] Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, pp. 395-397, 472-477, 484; Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 117-118; according to Commons, one union was organized in 1834, thirteen in 1835, and nine in 1836; similarly, there were twelve strikes in 1835 and fourteen in 1836.

[61] Dawley, pp. 1-2, 9-10, 65, quote on 1-2.

[62] The Man, April 4, 1834, May 21, 1835.

[63] Commons, et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, V, p. 308.

[64] Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, p. 366.

[65] Ibid., pp. 368-369, quote on 369; Working Man's Advocate, November 30, 1833; a few of the twenty-one societies were from Brooklyn and Newark.

[66] Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, pp. 365-368; Hugins, p. 57; Working Man's Advocate, November 30, 1833; this dissertation, chapter four, part four.

[67] Ibid., pp. 371-373.

[68] Commons, et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, V, pp. 317-318.

[69] Ibid., pp. 319-322.

[70] Ibid., p. 321.

[71] Similarly, the Philadelphia Trades' Union went into politics in 1836 over a court decision; Ibid., pp. 377-378.

[72] Commons, et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, VI, p. 211.

[73] Ibid., p. 212.

[74] Ibid., pp. 212-213.

[75] Ibid., p. 216.

[76] Ibid., pp. 211-216.

[77] Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, p. 425.

[78] Ibid., pp. 428-429, 435-436.

[79] See footnote one, this chapter; Arky, The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVI, No. 2, 164-176; Commons, et al., History of Labour, I, pp. 424-437; Commons, et al., A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, VI, p. 216; Edward Pessen, "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jacksonian Era," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII (1956-57), 440-441.

[80] The Man, April 4, 1834.

[81] The Man, April 4, 1834; Weinbaum, pp. 2-6; Hugins, pp. 120-121; the following Paineites were listed in a call for a public meeting of the "Mechanics and other Working Men, opposed to PAPER MONEY and BANKING, and to ALL LICENSED MONOPOLIES" published in The Man of May 15, 1834: E. J. Webb, George Henry Evans, Gilbert Vale, Francis Pares, Augustus J. Matsell, and Benjamin Offen.

[82] Hershkowitz, p. 57; The Man, April 14, May 3, 7, 10, 17, June 24, 1834.

[83] *The Man*, May 12, 21, August 9, 1834; Commons, *et al*., *History of Labour*, I, pp. 461-465; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), pp. 143, 201-209.

[84] Hugins, Table XV, p. 207.

[85] Scisco, p. 245.

[86] Montgomery, *Journal of Social History*, V, No. 4, 430.

[87] Hershkowitz, p. 167.

[88] *Ibid*.

[89] Scisco, p. 26; Hershkowitz, pp. 113-114, 120-121.

[90] *The Radical*, January, 1842, p. 9.

[91] *The Radical*, January, 1842, p. 9, February, 1842, pp. 122-123, April, 1843, pp. 50-52, 56-58.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION: WHOSE REPUBLIC AND WHAT KIND OF LIBERTY?

The pervasive reform temper of Jacksonian America expressed a crisis in the country's republican tradition, the complex of political and social values given definitive expression in the Revolution. Everyone defended the republic; but reformers sensed that something was wrong; and the revolutionary generation was no longer available to explain what it was. David Brion Davis describes this general republican crisis in his analysis of the antislavery movement: "The 'Glorious and ever memorable Revolution' kept receding into the past, secure now from any need for justification. There was, inevitably, a widening chasm of time between the transcendent moment of rebirth--when the 'Word of Liberty' created a nation--and the recurring rediscoveries of America's unredeemed sin. What was the meaning of this elongating interval?"[1] To abolitionists the growth of slavery meant that the Revolution's heritage might be lost by their generation if they did not eliminate the evil. Jacobins thought that expanding inequality meant the same thing. Faced with these challenges to the republican tradition, reformers tried to rekindle the "Spirit of '76": "The power of Revolutionary ideals depended on the sense of a continuing Revolutionary time--a time not simply of completion and rounding out, but a time of creation, marked by the same contingency, fears, and openness of the Revolution itself."[2] Thus reformers looked for "'signs of the times' that would reanimate the sense of collective peril generated by the Revolution."[3] The Sunday-mail campaign was such a sign for free thinkers, the Missouri Compromise for abolitionists. Other reformers saw signs of their own, and conspiracy theories flourished. And yet these theories were not simply paranoia but rather earnest efforts to define the causes of the republic's decline within the terms of the republican tradition itself.

There was a turning point in the history of reform in New York City in 1829 and 1830 which contributed to this sense of republican crisis. The Workingmen's party rose and fell within these years. Some of its remnants formed the radical faction at Tammany Hall. Contrary to its normal tactics, the New York Manumission Society tried openly appealing to the public through petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia. Yet Congress rebuffed the effort, and the Manumission Society withdrew into traditional philanthropy. The Sabbatarians launched a major national campaign to stop the mail on Sunday but were likewise rejected by Congress. They also aroused the ire of the secular radicals in New York City associated with the Workingmen's party and the tradition of Tom Paine. All these groups learned that the republic they valued so much was not as pliable as they had imagined. Neither elite reformers in the Manumission Society, evangelical activists promoting the Sabbath, nor Workingmen standing up for their rights could move a set of governing institutions ruling in the name of the people. Their failure produced bitterness and severe judgment of the existing order in the light of republican and Christian ideals. It also produced a search for new tactics and, in the case of the Manumission Society, abdication. The early 1830s were therefore a period of trial and error in reform circles, a groping for new means and new organizational forms made more urgent by the failure of past efforts to halt the republic's decline.

The abolitionist movement was taken over by evangelicals who had previously been more interested in promoting the Sabbath, distributing Christian tracts, defending the Indians, and fighting prostitution and intemperance. They brought the urgency of revivalism to abolition, expressing it in the new doctrine of immediatism. Initially they hoped to convert both their evangelical friends and New York's traditional philanthropic elite, which was composed of prominent merchants and professionals. Although both groups were sympathetic to colonization, the immediatists had some success with them, until the anti-abolitionist riots of July, 1834, associated antislavery with violence, disorder and radicalism. The city was polarized over abolition; and the traditional philanthropists, particularly the merchants among them, backed away from the cause or even opposed it vigorously. Some evangelical moderates also withdrew their support, and the evangelical mission societies of the benevolent empire rejected it as dangerous and divisive. Antislavery could not simply be another evangelical reform working through churches and established benevolent organizations. The polarization caused by the anti-abolitionist violence also won new sympathy for the cause, particularly among people concerned that the nation's civil rights were threatened. Gradual emancipationists and artisan radicals with antislavery sentiments had held aloof from immediate abolition because they disliked its evangelical leaders; but now they began to support the cause. Artisans and shopkeepers became the basic constituency for abolition in New York City. The abolitionists appealed to this broader constituency by stressing the incompatability of slave and free labor as well as the sinfulness of slavery. By the mid 1830s abolition had not only become the nation's most volatile political issue but also developed a coalition of support which would sustain it against violent opposition in the decades ahead.

The rebel workers who signed antislavery petitions were part of the labor empire, an interrelated set of unions, mechanics' institutes, cooperatives, newspapers, mutual benefit societies, and political factions based in the city's artisan community. The labor empire originated in the rebellion of journeymen against the degradation of skills and loss of traditional independence in the artisan crafts as well as against their own low wages in an inflationary era. The labor empire drew on the heritage of radical artisans who had usually fought the evangelical reform movements of the time, particularly the Sabbatarian campaign to stop the

UMI

Sunday mail, which they saw as threatening to the separation of church and state. The evangelicals had, however, strong support among loyalist artisans who saw in religious morality a useful antidote to the failure of traditional labor discipline. Nevertheless, the rebels shared a morality of self-discipline, industry, and temperance with the evangelicals and artisan loyalists they typically opposed; only the rebels attributed moral vices to different causes and proposed different remedies. Rebels saw intemperance, for example, as the consequence of poverty, not sin, and struggled to eliminate both. The rebels were distinguished from evangelicals and loyalists by their use of Jacobin radicalism to confront the problems they faced.

This political tradition led them to ally with the Jacksonian Democrats to fight monopoly and paper money as well as to oppose popular violence against the abolitionists. Since the rebel artisans wanted to build sustained political organizations for the benefit of society's producers, they typically opposed traditional crowd violence because it was sporadic and easily manipulated by the elite. This opposition to violence and the antislavery traditions of their Jacobin heritage induced some of them to support the evangelically led abolitionist movement after 1834. Slavery contradicted the basic values of radical artisan culture--independence, liberty and equality. These positions on violence and abolition cut them off from the traditionalist workers who rioted and who saw in racism and nativism the answers for their depressed condition. The traditionalists rejected both the new laissez-faire economic order and the self-disciplining, individualistic morality associated with it. Their popular violence and their political organization in the nativist movement divided the artisan constituency and limited the appeal of the labor empire to city's producers. Nevertheless, the labor empire had a strong base in New York's artisan community until the depression after 1837 destroyed the journeymen's unions which had given it impetus.

The labor and benevolent empires were the two main parties of reform in Jacksonian New York City. Both tried to coherently explain the declension in the republic which the reforms of the late '20s had failed to reverse. Two explanations came to dominate their thinking--slavery and inequality. Neither, of course, was a new theory; but both received new urgency. David Brion Davis states that even "by 1820 the main ingredients of the sectionalist Slave Power thesis had appeared as an explanation for the nation's moral declension and as a program for militant restoration. The Missouri crisis pointed to a sectional reformulation of the Revolution's great dilemma . . . . Henceforth, the contradiction between Revolutionary and secular time, which had seemed to lead to irreversible declension, could be conceived as a contradiction between two cultures--or as a contradiction in American space."[4] The failure of gradual emancipation in the 1820s made this explanation more popular. It was also more satisfying to people who wanted to justify the social and economic transformation of the North. It identified the significant divisions of American society--not between the nation's producers and nonproducers, as the Workingmen would have stated it--but between the sections, between slavery and freedom. Thus, even as it threatened the compromises on which national unity was based, the antislavery movement of the 1830s helped to legitimize the transformation of northern society by laissez-faire capitalism.

Since they were opposed to this transformation, New York's radical artisans were skeptical of a sectional explanation of America's republican decline. They saw inequality as the fundamental cause of their own and the republic's ills; and inequality existed in the North as well as the South. By the 1830s Skidmore's proposal to equally divide property was in disrepute, and most artisan radicals took more moderate positions by attacking monopoly, special privilege, and paper money. But they opposed the growing inequalities of their society nonetheless, summarizing their program as Equal Rights. They prescribed numerous remedies from public education to distribution of the public lands, from mechanics' institutes to unions, from destruction of monopoly to workers' cooperatives. All these programs were aimed at creating a producers' republic, their vision of what America had been and should be, a society in which the producers of wealth reaped the just benefits of their labor and did not support a leisure class. The abolition and labor movements in Jacksonian New York City thus had two theories of the decline of the American republic with broad implications for the North as well as the South. The issues raised by these theories can be summarized in the question, whose republic and what kind of liberty?

The evangelicals wanted a Christian republic in which liberty was the possession of self-disciplined individuals. The Christian character of the republic was defined by the traditional Protestant ethic revised in an individualistic way to stress self-improvement and self-discipline. Evangelicals prescribed a Christian common denominator for America which they tried to spread to everyone through their missionary enterprises. Reforms like temperance and Sabbatarianism were not simply efforts to eliminate vice and disorder but also attempts to create a Christian republic through the spread of this evangelical version of republican virtue. Evangelicals hoped that they could create a moral public opinion in the land which would aid them in the advancement of their reforms as well as in spread of their moral beliefs. Since it presupposed that everyone was a free moral agent, their morality helped them reject enforced discipline through external controls, such as those in slavery; people with no freedom could not be expected to become self-disciplined moral citizens in a Christian republic for they lacked the freedom to make choices in the first place. Thus liberty for the evangelicals belonged first of all to self-disciplined individuals who had the proper self-control not to abuse it. These self-disciplined individuals were not only the building block of the Christian republic but also ideally suited to fit into a laissez-faire order where external restraints were being loosened on individual and business self-assertion. Self-discipline would insure the necessary order where this freedom prevailed. Employers also saw in these moral individuals the ideal workers they wished to hire--dependable, methodical, and self-reliant. The Christian republic was more closely suited to the direction of economic change in nineteenth-century America than the producers' republic of the rebel artisans.

To rebel artisans the American republic belonged to the producers and liberty to the united citizenry. Their ideal had deep roots in the Jacobin tradition whose egalitarian and communal values put them at odds with the development of laissez-faire capitalism in Jacksonian America. They valued the independence of household producers but found themselves dependent on merchants and boss employers. They valued the traditions of skill in their crafts but found themselves competing with unskilled labor producing masses of low quality goods. They valued equality but found social distinctions growing all around them as the new wealth of the era concentrated in the upper classes. They valued a communal vision of a homogeneous people united in defense of their liberty but found new divisions everywhere and freedom threatened by new combinations of economic and religious power. Their program of Equal Rights tried to stop the evils they saw by opposing monopoly and special privilege and electing workingmen to political office. Equal Rights, however, did not stop the growth of inequality.

Since their Jacobin tradition was essentially political in character and fundamentally committed to private property, rebel artisans had difficulty using it to fight economic injustice. When they tried to attack inequality directly through redistributing property, most artisans rejected their proposals, preferring political solutions and leaving the radicals isolated. The Slave Power ideology of the evangelical abolitionists fit more closely the prevailing assumptions of the Jacobin tradition and of American republicanism in general. The abolitionists identified an alien and external threat as the cause of the republic's decline--the kind of challenge that republicans from Antimasons to free thinkers had found it easiest to unite against, particularly since they assumed that republican society was basically just and sound. And the challenges of the Slave Power were first of all to political values like the rights of petition and free speech. As the Slave Power became more threatening artisans rallied to the defense of the republic. Thus the character of the republican tradition itself aided abolition in becoming the dominant reform issue of the antebellum era.

Yet as a threatening Slave Power began to unite the people of the North in defense of their society, the inequalities within it continued to grow. The labor movement rose and fell and rose and fell again, each time pointing up the existence of inequality and class conflict within the free labor economy of the North. Republicanism remained the ideology in which these evils were addressed. Was free labor the kind of liberty that the founding fathers had fought for? Did the republic really belong to the producers or to the new monied aristocrats? Whose republic was it really and what kind of liberty did it guarantee? These questions would rise to prominence again after the working classes of the North had lent their indispensable aid in subduing the alien Slave Power.

UMI

FOOTNOTES

[1] David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 307.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Introduction to the Petitions

Fifteen petitions from New York City are analyzed in this dissertation--thirteen against slavery in the District of Columbia and two opposing the Sunday mail. The signers of these petitions are listed and analyzed in Appendices 3 through 18. The Sunday-mail petitions from 1827 and 1829 were selected to provide a comparison to the antislavery petitions. The petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia were chosen because the issue was the earliest on which abolitionists submitted memorials and because it remained a concern of theirs through the 1830s. The petitions on the subject thus provide a continuous record on a common theme throughout this vital decade. A petition did not have to be solely about slavery in the District of Columbia to be analyzed; some, for example, were also against slavery in the territories and the slave trade.

The thirteen antislavery petitions include all those in the National Archives signed by men and submitted to the House of Representatives from New York City from 1829 through 1839. No women signed such petitions from New York City before 1837. In 1836 a massive petition campaign involving considerable numbers of women was undertaken by the American Anti-Slavery Society and its state and local affiliates. Between 1837 and 1839 two petitions from New York City against slavery in the District were signed solely by women and one jointly by men and women. (See Appendix 2.) Although men in the latter petition were looked up in the Directories, none of the women in any of the petitions were analyzed because so few women were in the Directories.

Categories of Signers

The legible names on the petitions were looked up in Longworth's Directories of New York City. The first Directory consulted was the one published in the year in which the petition was dated by the clerk in the House of Representatives. (The Directories are always referred to here by the year in which they were published.) If the man could not be found in that Directory he was looked up in the Directories published one year before and one year after the one originally consulted.

The legible signers divided into three groups--those found, those not found, and those with names too common to distinguish them from others with the same name. A name was too common if there was more than one individual of that name in the Directory consulted. The signers who abbreviated their first names were almost always too common. It was assumed that the illegible signers and those with common names were randomly distributed throughout the population; the same assumption was not made for those who could not be found and those with no listed occupation. (See the final section of this Appendix.) The category of those not found is self-explanatory. Those found in the Directories included a large majority with listed occupations and a minority without.

Middle initials presented a problem. Generally, a man who signed with a middle initial which did not appear in the Directory was taken as found if he was the only individual so listed in two or three Directories. In a few rare instances two men appeared in the Directories with the same name and the same occupation; in these cases the man was taken as found with the occupation listed for both. More commonly, although not often, the name of a signer was listed as a company; he was counted as found and the name of the company listed in the appendix with his name underlined if the company included other names besides his. Sometimes, especially in the 1827 Sunday-mail petition, the men signed as companies and were listed as such if they appeared that way in the Directories.

The names of all signers are listed in the appendices as they appeared in the Directories, as exemplified by the men who were listed as a company. Similarly, if a man signed W. H. Cooper and was in the Directory as William H. Cooper, the full name in the Directory is in the appendix. Since the occupations for the men found are given as in the Directories, they sometimes do not conform to modern spelling and in a few cases are spelled differently in different Directories. The number after the occupation is the year of publication for the Directory in which the man was found. In a few cases, particularly for men noted as "legible not in," a question mark appears after their first name. This means that part of his name was illegible but enough was discernible to have distinguished him if he had been in the Directories.

Those men found with listed occupations were divided into six mutually exclusive categories--merchants; professionals, clerical workers, and governmental officials; shopkeepers and proprietors; artisans; laborers and cartmen; and other. These categories are an effort to approximate the status and position of the various occupations within the city's economy. There is, of course, a wide range of wealth and status within each. The number of categories was limited to six to make comparisons between petitions easier and more meaningful. The categories were named after the dominant group or groups within each.

Merchants, for example, include auctioneers because the latter were prominent members of the mercantile community specially licensed to sell imported goods by auction. Nevertheless, since merchants constitute the overwhelming majority of men in the first category, it is named after them. In addition, since it had prestige, the term merchant was commonly assumed by men who would more nearly be shopkeepers.[1] Since, however, the occupation as given in the Directory is all that is known about most of these men, their listing is taken literally. This holds for all categories.

The second category--professionals, clerical workers, and governmental officials--approximates the modern conception of white-collar occupations; but this term was not utilized because it does not exactly apply to the antebellum economy. It connotes, for example, the contemporary middle class within an industrial economy, neither of which had developed yet. Thus the category simply lists the main groups placed within

UMI

it, each of which constitutes a significant part of the whole.

The third category--shopkeepers and proprietors--is practically self-explanatory. Proprietors were small property owners like tavern keepers. Men besides grocers, clothiers, etc., were taken as shopkeepers if the Directory listed a kind of goods as their occupation--books or hats, for example. It was assumed that they sold these things.

In contrast, men classified here as artisans were listed as printer, hatter, and so on. Artisans were skilled workers usually organized into trades who commonly sold their own products. The category of artisans contains the relatively few men listed as manufacturers, who were usually artisans producing on a larger scale than normal by hiring relatively large numbers of workers. In this era the term did not necessarily mean that the man owned and ran a shop utilizing machinery.

The men classified as laborers and cartmen were predominately cartmen. Given their organization as a trade, cartmen might have been considered a lower grade artisan except that they were not skilled workers.[2] Laborers were among the most underrepresented groups in the Directories. (See the final section of this Appendix.)

The final category is obviously for miscellaneous occupations as well as for ones whose nature could not be determined.

In conclusion, the best definition of the different categories is the list of occupations placed in each. An examination of the Directory samples in Appendices 20, 21,

UMI

and 22 will give the reader a good idea of the meaning of the categories.

Coverage of the Directories

The Directories did not include all the white males in the city, much less most of the women, blacks, or poor. In 1820 the Directory included approximately 63 percent of the free white males 16 years and older, in 1830, 50 percent, and in 1840, 34 percent.[3] Since Directories were published primarily as an aid to businessmen, they had sexual, racial, and class biases.[4]

Women hardly appeared in the Directories. An average of 10 percent of the three samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 Directories were women, the great majority of whom were widows. Women who ran boarding houses almost always appeared, for obvious reasons. There were also a few women listed with occupations like seamstress, but most working women were not included.[5]

Similarly, blacks were practically excluded. The sample of the 1829 Directory included none, and those of the 1836 and 1840 Directories included three each, equalling .2 percent of the totals. In 1830 blacks constituted 7 percent of the city's population.[6] Blacks were excluded for economic as well as racial reasons.

In 1829 the editor of the Directory gave an excellent statement of its class bias when he said that he had "endeavored, in the two last publications, to restrain the increasing bulk of the work by the judicious omission of many names that can be of no importance to persons in business, or to those who patronize the work; the names of laborers, colored people, persons in low obscurity who rent tenements by the week or month, may be excluded without impairing the utility of the work; . . . ."[7] This is a rather good definition of the propertyless and transient laboring class of the preindustrial city that Stephan Thernstrom found in Newburyport. Similarly, such men were excluded from that city's directories; and Thernstrom concluded that "many laborers lived in the city of Newburyport at mid-century, but they were not 'members of the community.'"[8]

A considerable number of journeymen were probably excluded as well. In 1830 the editor of Longworth's Directory noted that he had been criticized for omitting journeymen mechanics.[9] The critic planned to bring out a Directory including all men doing business and all heads of families; but the editor of Longworth's scoffed at this threat. The underrepresentation of journeymen was also noted by William N. Black in his study of the residential patterns of members of the Union Society of Journeyman House Carpenters in New York City. Of his total list of 443 men, 28 percent never appeared in a Directory throughout the 1830s while an additional 16 percent appeared only once.[10] And these union members may have been better represented than most journeymen since Black found "a definite correlation between Society membership and better enumeration in the city directory."[11] In addition, men under twenty-one were probably excluded. On one small antislavery petition the signers listed their ages, and no one twenty-one or younger was in the Directories. (See Appendix 16.)

In contrast, the members of the community who were included were defined well by the Sabbatarians in New York City during an argument with their opponents over the kind of people who signed their huge petition against the Sunday mail in 1829: "The Directory does not usually give the names of persons who are not housekeepers or principals at places of business."[12] Thus it is not surprising that Black found the Directories accurate "at least in so far as the enumeration of propertied individuals goes."[13]

The bias of the Directories against the propertyless raises questions about the category of petition signers who could not be found. As a general rule they were more likely to be poorer than those men found.[14] Thus the antislavery petition with the most prestigious signers--the one from 1834--had the smallest percentage of men who could not be found in the Directories. Beyond this general trend, it is hazardous to speculate. One can not be sure that those signers not found were journeymen or blacks, for example.

One final comment needs to be made about the men who were found but who had no listed occupation. Many were wealthy men who had no need to work or who participated in so many activities that no one in particular defined them. Edward Pessen, for example, found such "gentlemen" in Philadelphia's Directories.[15] Nevertheless, the absence of an occupation could also mean that an individual was a casual worker who moved from job to job. Since the Directories were biased against propertyless laborers, however, these men with no listed occupation were more likely to be wealthier than most. Thus, for example, the petition from 1834 with the most prestigious signers had the second largest proportion of such men. In conclusion, this work analyzes the petition signers based on those who were found with listed occupations, although the biases of the Directories were always kept in mind.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973), p. 49.

[2] Howard Rock considers cartmen a lower grade artisan in his "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), p. 321.

[3] To arrive at these figures I calculated the total entries in the respective Directories, subtracted 10 percent to account for women, and divided by the free white males. I used 10 percent for the women based on their share of my samples of the 1829, 1836, and 1840 Directories. I had to use males 15 or 16 years and up because of the way the census divided the age groups in different years. The figure for 1820 was based on those 16 and up; the figures for 1830 and 1840 on those 15 and up.

[4] Peter R. Knights, "City Directories as Aids to Ante-Bellum Urban Studies: A Research Note," *Historical Methods Newsletter: Quantitative Analysis of Social, Economic, and Political Development,* II, No. 4 (September, 1969), 4-6.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 6.

[6] Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972), Table 6, p. 36.

[7] *Longworth's New York City Directory for 1829-30*, p. 638.

[8] Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), p. 32.

[9] *Longworth's New York City Directory for 1830-31*, p. 673.

[10] William N. Black, "The Union Society of Journeymen House Carpenters: A Test in Residential Mobility in Antebellum New York City, 1830-1840" (unpublished Master's essay, Department of History, Columbia University, 1975), pp. 17-18.

UMI

[11] *Ibid*., pp. 25-26.

[12] *Commercial Advertiser*, January 15, 1830.

[13] Black, p. 18.

[14] Knights, *Historical Methods Newsletter*, II, No. 4, 6.

[15] Pessen, p. 70.

APPENDIX 2

Antislavery Petitions from New York City, 1829 through 1839

1829

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, February 23, 1829, 1461 male signers*

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, 1829, 41 male signers*

1831

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, February 14, 1831, 57 male signers*

1834

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, January 27, 1834, 186 male signers*

1835

For the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, February 2, 1835, 240 male signers*

1836

For the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, February 29, 1836, 329 male signers*[a]

1837

For "full legal rights to all inhabitants" of the District of Columbia,[b] December 18, 1837, 399 male signers*

For "full legal rights to all inhabitants" of the District of Columbia, December 18, 1837, 250 male signers*

For "full legal rights to all inhabitants" of the District of Columbia, December 18, 1837, 86 male signers*[c]

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, December, 1837, 634 female signers

1838

For the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, February 14, 1838, 248 male signers*

For the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, February 14, 1838, 441 male and female signers*[d]

For the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, February 14, 1838, 17 male signers*

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, February 14, 1838, 91 female signers

For the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the territories, February 14, 1838, 98 female signers

Against the annexation of Texas, February 14, 1838, 1867 male signers

Against the annexation of Texas, February 16, 1838, 86 female signers

Against the admission of any new slave states, February 16, 1838, 440 male and female signers

Against the admission of any new slave states, February 16, 1838, 259 male signers

Against the admission of any new slave states, February 16, 1838, 98 female signers

Against the admission of any new slave states, February 16, 1838, 18 male signers

For the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in all U. S. territories, February 16, 1838, 190 male signers

For the abolition of slavery in the territories, February 16, 1838, 18 male signers

For the immediate prohibition of the interstate slave trade, February 16, 1838, 456 male and female signers

For the immediate prohitition of the interstate slave trade, February 16, 1838, 44 male signers

For the repeal of the gag resolution, February 16, 1838, 132 male signers

1839

For the repeal of the gag resolution, January 7, 1839, 205 male signers

Against the admission of any new slave states and the annexation of Texas, February 10, 1839, 803 male signers

For the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territory of Florida and for the prohibition of the interstate slave trade, February 10, 1839, 596 male signers*

For the repeal of the gag resolution, February 10, 1839, 370 male signers

Against the admission of any new slave states, 1839, male signers, no number given, but only one page

---

Source: Records of the National Archives

Note: In the records of the National Archives there are no antislavery petitions from New York City from 1825 through 1828; the records were not checked earlier than 1825. The total signers for the petitions analyzed in this dissertation account for people who signed twice; thus the number of signers noted may be slightly less than the actual number of signatures. The total signers for the other petitions was taken from the number written on the back of the petitions by the clerk in the House of Representatives. The dates given are those written on the back of the petitions by the clerk; since they are the only date consistently on the petitions, they are the ones used. Before May, 1836, when the first gag resolution was passed, the date usually was when the petition was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; after May, 1836, the date indicates when the petition was tabled. When, in a few cases, there was no exact date written on the back of a petition it was determined approximately by the bundle in which it was packed, or perhaps by a date in the text.

*Petition analyzed in this dissertation.

[a] Part of this petition must be missing since the clerk in the House wrote "625 Citizens" on the back.

[b] This wording was used to try to circumvent the gag rule by not mentioning slavery in the text of the petition.

[c] Part of this petition must be missing since the clerk in the House wrote "121 Young men" on the back.

[d] The 133 men who signed were looked up in the Directories. Only men who spelled out their first names were analyzed, however, because the sex of people who used initials could not be determined for certain.

APPENDIX 3A

Petition against the opening of the Post Office on Sunday, referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives on January 29, 1827

Summary of All Signers (337): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	195	57.9
Legible, found, no occupation listed	25	7.4
Legible, not in	40	11.9
Legible, too common	34	10.1
Illegible	43	12.8
Total	337	100.1

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (195)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	77	39.5
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	34	17.4
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	33	16.9
Artisans	38	19.5
Laborers and Cartmen	7	3.6
Other	6	3.1
Total	195	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (70), commission merchant (3), silkgoods (1)[a]	74	37.9
Pres. Mutual Insurance Co. (1), Pres. Fulton Insurance Co. (1)[b]	2	1.
Pres. Del. and Hudson Can. Bank[c]	1	.5
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
attorney (2), attorney and notary (1), counselor, com. and notary (1) attorney and counselor (1)	5	2.6
broker (3), ship and produce brokers(1)	4	2.1

UMI

	Number	Percent
Reverend	4	2.1
M. D. (2), physician (1)	3	1.5
teacher	3	1.5
accountant	2	1.0
agent Bible Society (1), asst. secy. American Bible Society (1)	2	1.0
agent (1), land agent (1)	2	1.0
inspector customs (1), flour inspector (1)	2	1.0
academy	1	.5
cashier	1	.5
dentist	1	.5
editor	1	.5
institute for stammerers	1	.5
New York Observer	1	.5
U. S. Navy	1	.5
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	12	6.2
grocer	7	3.6
china store (3), crockery store (1)	4	2.1
bookseller	3	1.5
boardinghouse	2	1.0
druggist	1	.5
hardware	1	.5
hatstore	1	.5
shoedealer	1	.5
stoneware	1	.5
Artisans:		
carpenter	6	3.1
shoemaker	5	2.6
tailor (2), merchant tailor (2), tailor and clothing store (1)	5	2.6
mason	3	1.5
watchmaker	3	1.5
hatter	2	1.0
printer	2	1.0
upholsterer	2	1.0
baker	1	.5
bookbinder	1	.5
cabinetmaker	1	.5
cooper	1	.5
currier	1	.5
engraver	1	.5
gunsmith	1	.5
sailmaker	1	.5
shipchandler and ropemaker	1	.5
typefounder	1	.5
Laborers and Cartmen:		
cartman	5	2.6
porter	1	.5
lighterman	1	.5

	Number	Percent
Other:		
D. D.	1	.5
furnace	1	.5
Hopkinsean Depository	1	.5
letter carrier	1	.5
seminary	1	.5
sexton	1	.5
Total	195	99.5

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR19A-G14.2.

Note: Printed text. One duplicate signer.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listing would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

[b] These men were placed here because of their high status and importance within the city's economy, although they were not merchants. The occupational categories are named after the predominant group or groups within them.

[c] See previous footnote.

APPENDIX 3B

Petition against the opening of the Post Offices on Sunday, referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives on January 29, 1827

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Acheson, William	shoemaker, 26	4
Allen, Francis D.	agent, 27	2
Allen, L.V.	Legible, not in	
Alloon, John	Legible, not in	
Amerman, Peter	sexton, 27	6
Andrews, David	merchant, 27	1
Aspinwall, John	merchant, 27	1
Ayers, Daniel	merchant, 27	1
Bailey & Remsen	drygoods, 27	3
Baker, Cornelius	merchant, 27	1
Banto, Clyde	Legible, not in	
Barker, Isaac H.	cartman, 27	5
Barnum, Joseph R.	hatter, 27	4
Beach, Silas C.	mason, 27	4
Beekman, John A.	No occupation	
Beekman & Johnson	merchants, 27	1
Belden, William	teacher, 27	2
Blach, V.	engraver, 27	4
Blatchford, R.M.	attorney & notary, 27	2
Bliss, Elam	bookseller, 27	3
Bliss, James C.	M.D., 27	2
Bloodgood, Thomas	wine merchant, 27	1
Bokee, Abraham	inspector customs, 27	2
Bolton, John	president Del. & Huds. Can. bank, 28	1
Boorman, James	No occupation	
Boyd, Vans B.	Legible, not in	
Brewster, Joseph	hatter, 27	4
Briggs, David	merchant, 27	1
Brigham, John C.	asst. secy. American Bible Society, 27	2
Brown Brothers & Co.	merchants, 27	1

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Brownlee, William C.	D.D., 27	6
Bruen, G.W. & H.	merchants, 28	1
Buck, Gurden	merchant, 27	1
Buckley, H.M.	Legible, not in	
Bull, Allen C.	Legible, not in	
Bull, Frederic	merchant, 27	1
Burgy, Archibald D.	Legible, not in	
Bush, George	accountant, 27	2
Butt, George A.	drygoods, 26	3
Cahoone, William & Co.	ship & produce brokers, 27	2
Cairns, William Jr.	broker, 27	2
Chiff, Charles	Legible, not in	
Clark, James B. & Co.	merchant, 27	1
Clark, Joseph M.	mason, 27	4
Cochran, James B.	No occupation	
Coit, Levi & Co.	brokers, 26	2
Cook, William A.	merchant, 27	1
Covell, Horace	teacher, 28	2
Cox, Samuel H.	rev., 27	2
Crolius, John	stoneware, 27	3
Cromwell, Samuel	carpenter, 27	4
Curtis, William Morris	Legible, not in	
Curtiss, H.T.	merchant, 27	1
Dando, Stephen	hatstore, 27	3
Davenport, Wyckoff & Barnes	merchants, 27	1
Davis, Cornelius	Hopkinsean Depository, 27	6
Davison, John R. & Van Pelt	drygoods, 27	3
Dayton, James	Legible, not in	
Deforest, Benjamin	merchant, 27	1
Dickson, Edward	Legible, not in	
Dodge & Green	merchants, 27	1
Dodge & Gregory	merchants, 27	1
Doughty & Robertson	merchants, 27	1
Douglass, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Downs, John	No occupation	
Druden, Henry	Legible, not in	
Edgar, Thomas	cartman, 27	5
Edwards, Robert	tailor & clothing-store, 27	4
Edwards, Samuel V.	Legible, not in	
Edwards, William	cartman, 26	5
Ellsworth, Erastus & Co.	No occupation	
Falconer, Archibald	No occupation	
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer, 27	4
Fisher, Elijah	cartman, 27	5
Fitch, Goodwin & Co.	commission merchants, 27	1
Folger & Lamb	hardware, 27	3

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Fraser, Alexander G.	rev., 27	2
Furman, Gabriel	president Mutual Insur. Co., 28	1
Gallagher, Ira	Legible, not in	
Gans, Austin	Legible, not in	
Gaunt, John	No occupation	
Gibson, James R.	No occupation	
Gibson, John Y.	Legible, not in	
Gifford, James N.	merchant, 27	1
Gill, T.A. & Co.	grocers, 27	3
Gordon, Charles	merchant, 27	1
Graham, Nathan B.	counselor, com. & not.,27	2
Gratacap, Gabriel P.	upholsterer, 27	4
Haff, Anthony	accountant, 28	2
Hallock, Gerard	editor, 27	2
Halsey, Abraham A.	merchant, 26	1
Halsted & Haines	merchants, 27	1
Harris & Chauncey	china store, 27	3
Hattrich, Peter	merchant, 27	1
Haven, John P.	bookseller, 27	3
Hayes, Newton	boardinghouse, 26	3
Heyer, Cornelius	cashier, 27	2
Higgs, Joseph	tailor, 27	4
Hitchcock, John	No occupation	
Holbrook, Lowell & Co.	merchant, 27	1
Holden, Horace	attorney, 27	2
Holmes, Silas	commission merchant, 27	1
Holt, Henry	flour & commission merchant, 27	1
Horton, J.G.	merchant, 27	1
Hoyt, James M.	merchant, 27	1
Hunter, Jacob A.	Legible, not in	
Hutchings, Samuel	grocer, 27	3
Hutchinson, Richard J.	No occupation	
Hyde, Erastus	boardinghouse, 27	3
Hyde & Holly	merchants, 27	1
Hyde, Simeon	merchant, 26	1
Jacks, Edgar	Legible, not in	
Jackson, Thomas L.	grocer, 27	3
James, Daniel A.	Legible, not in	
Jaques, Isaac	merchant tailor, 27	4
Keeler & Lynes	drygoods, 27	3
Keese, John D.	druggist, 27	3
Kellogg, Edward	drygoods, 27	3
Kerin, William	Legible, not in	
King, Lewis H.	shoemaker, 28	4
Knapp, Abraham	shoemaker, 27	4
Knox, John	rev., 27	2
Kumbel, William	currier, 27	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Labriskie, George	Legible, not in	
Lawrence, James H.	Legible, not in	
Lawrence, James V.H.	drygoods, 27	3
Leitch, George	typefounder, 27	4
Lilienthal, Hanke	No occupation	
Little, Jonathan & Co.	merchants, 27	1
Lockwood, Roe	bookseller, 27	3
Looker, Benjamin	shoedealer, 27	3
Lord, Daniel Jr.	attorney, 27	2
Lord, D.N.	merchant, 27	1
Ludlow, Henry G.	rev., 28	2
Luyster, William	merchant, 27	1
Lynch, Elias	letter carrier, 27	6
McNiesh, John	watchmaker, 27	4
MacGregor, John Jr.	No occupation	
Magee, Safety	grocer, 28	3
Maltby, Elbridge	merchant, 27	1
Mandeville, William	cabinetmaker, 27	4
Marvin, A.S.	No occupation	
Mason, Abraham	merchant, 27	1
Masters & Markoe	merchants, 27	1
Mead, Benjamin	merchant, 27	1
Mead, Ralph	merchant, 27	1
Means & Sprague	merchants, 27	1
Megie, E.	Legible, not in	
Miller, John W.	Legible, not in	
Mitchell, John A.	watchmaker, 27	4
Moffet, John	drygoods, 27	3
Moon, D.M.	Legible, not in	
Moore, John S.	drygoods, 27	3
Moorhead, John	cooper, 27	4
Morrell, William M.	watch-maker, 28	4
Morse, Richard C.	New York Observer, 27	2
Morss, Amos	merchant, 27	1
Morton, John A. Jr.	No occupation	
Neilson, William	merchant, 27	1
Nexsen, John	No occupation	
Nitchie, John	agent Bible Society, 27	2
Nixon, George	furnace, 27	6
Noyes, John M. & Son	merchants, 27	1
Oakley, Daniel & Co.	merchants, 27	1
Ostrander, Abraham D.	U.S.N., 27	2
Parkhurst, Jabez & Son	dentist, 27	2
Parr, John	drygoods, 28	3
Pattison, Thomas	drygoods, 27	3
Peel, Rostwick L.	Legible, not in	
Penoyer, Robert M.	No occupation	
Pentz & Pomeroy	merchants, 27	1
Perrot, John	grocer, 27	3

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Peters, John R.	merchant, 26	1
Petit, Joseph & Co.	merchants, 28	1
Phelps, Anson G.	merchant, 27	1
Phelps, James L.	physician, 27	2
Phyfe, J. & W.F.	upholsterers, 27	4
Phyfe, Robert	Legible, not in	
Platt, Joel	merchant-tailor, 27	4
Pomeroy & Rogers	merchants, 26	1
Porter, Theodore W.	Legible, not in	
Purser, Thomas	china store, 26	3
Quick, Teunis	china & c., 28	3
Rague, John F.	mason, 27	4
Reed, Collin	No occupation	
Reed, Richard	land agent, 27	2
Requa, James B.	teacher, 27	2
Reynolds, Nathaniel	grocer, 27	3
Richards, Abraham	merchant, 27	1
Richards, Nathaniel	merchant, 26	1
Roby, Thomas	academy, 27	2
Rockwell, T.B.	Legible, not in	
Rogers, Benjamin W.	merchant, 27	1
Rogers, Taylor & Williams	merchants, 27	1
Roosevelt, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Rose, Joseph Jr.	gunsmith, 27	4
Royce, James	Legible, not in	
Rushe, George	Legible, not in	
Russel & Roosevelt	No occupation	
Rutgers, Henry	No occupation	
Ryckman, Robert W.	shoemaker, 27	4
Sackett, E.B.	merchant, 27	1
Severson, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Sheffield, George	tailor, 26	4
Shipman, George P.	broker, 27	2
Skelding, Thomas	merchant, 27	1
Sloan, LaRue P.	Legible, not in	
Smalley, John	attorney & counselor, 27	2
Smith & Haviland	merchants, 27	1
Spies, Henry	lighterman, 27	5
Starr, Charles	bookbinder, 27	4
Steele, J. & R.T.	drygoods, 27	3
Stephens, John Jr.	No occupation	
Stevens, Linus	M.D., 27	2
Stokes, Alfred	Legible, not in	
Stryker, Jacob P.	carpenter, 28	4
Talbot, William R.	merchant, 27	1
Talmage, Thomas G.	merchant, 27	1
Tappan, Arthur & Co.	silkgoods, 27	1
Tappan, Christopher P.	flour inspector, 27	2

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Tappan, Peter	Legible, not in	
Taylor, Knowles	No occupation	
Taylor, William A. & Co.	merchants, 27	1
Teller, James W.	Legible, not in	
Teller, Joshua	carpenter, 28	4
Tenbroeck, Henry A.	merchant, 27	1
Tenbrook, Henry	carpenter, 26	4
Thompson, Alonzo	carpenter, 27	4
Thorne, William H.	Legible, not in	
Thornell, Benjamin S.	cartman, 27	5
Tolfree, Robert	porter, 27	5
Tompkins, John E. (signed twice)	seminary, 27	6
Tredwell, George	crockery store, 27	3
Tucker & Carter	shipchandlers & ropemakers, 27	4
Ufford, Hezekiah G.	instit. for stammerers, 27	2
Underhill, Anthony L.	pres. Fult. ins. co., 27	1
Vanantwerp, T. & L.	merchants, 27	1
Vanantwerp, William	No occupation	
Vanbrunt, S.	merchant, 27	1
Vanbrunt, William P.	printer, 28	4
Vanderbilt, Timothy W.	shoemaker, 27	4
Vannest, Abraham	merchant, 27	1
Vannortwick, William B.	merchant, 27	1
Varick, Joseph V.	baker, 27	4
Varick, Richard	No occupation	
Vernon, Phillip H.	merchant, 27	1
Vernon, Samuel B.	merchant, 28	1
Vernon, William	Legible, not in	
Vernon, William & Co.	merchants, 27	1
Voorhees, John F.	drygoods, 27	3
Wainwright, Eli	merchant, 27	1
Warner, Andrew	No occupation	
Westfield, John	sailmaker, 28	4
Wheelwright, John	merchant, 27	1
Whetten, John	No occupation	
White, Isaac	carpenter, 27	4
Wilcox, Timothy D.	grocer, 27	3
Williams & Harriman	merchants, 27	1
Woolley, Brittan L.	merchant, 27	1
Worth, John S.	merchant, 27	1

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Adams, John
Board, David
Brown, Samuel
Brown, Thomas
Chase, Henry
Clark, Samuel

Clark, William
Darling, Thomas
Davidson, James
Deforest, William
Douglass, John
Douglass, John
Dumont, William
Ely, A.
Galloway, John
Gray, John
Hall, Francis
Hays, W.
Johnson, John
Johnston, John
King, Henry
Moore, Joseph
Richards, Samuel
Roosevelt, James
Smith, Ira
Walker, James
Wallace, William
Ward, James
Ward, Samuel
Watson, John
Weaver, John
Whitlock, William
Wilson, John
Wilson, William

UMI

APPENDIX 4

Petition against the transportation of mail and opening of Post Offices on Sunday, referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives on January 5, 1829.

Total Signatures: 6287
Total Sample: 1046

Summary of All Signers in the Sample (1046): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	361	34.5
Legible, found, no occupation listed	35	3.3
Legible, not in	157	15.0
Legible, too common	113	10.8
Illegible	380	36.3
Total	1046	99.9

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (361)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	48	13.3
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	57	15.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	83	23.0
Artisans	140	38.8
Laborers and Cartmen	31	8.6
Other	2	.5
Total	361	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant	45	12.5
secretary Equitable Ins. Co. and Commissioner (1), secretary Contrib. Insurance Co. (1)[a]	2	.6
president Del. and Huds. Canal Bank[b]	1	.3

	Number	Percent
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
reverend	9	2.5
attorney (5), counselor (1), attorney and counselor (1), attorney and notary (1)	8	2.2
M. D. (3), physician (2), physician and surgeon (1), surgeon (1)	7	1.9
teacher (5), music teacher (1)	6	1.7
clerk	4	1.1
accountant	3	.8
broker (2), c.h. broker (1), (customs house?)	3	.8
cashier Chemical Bank (1), cashier Union Bank (1), teller U. S. branch bank (1)	3	.8
agent (1), land agent (1)	2	.6
asst. sec. American Temperance Society (1), cor. sec. American Bible Society (1)	2	.6
collector (1), money collector (1)	2	.6
lottery office (1), lottery and ech. office (1)	2	.6
Bank of America	1	.3
portrait painter	1	.3
marshal	1	.3
notary	1	.3
pilot	1	.3
shipmaster	1	.3
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer	39	10.8
drygoods (13), clothier (1)	14	3.9
shoe store	5	1.4
druggist (2), apothecary (1)	3	.8
porterhouse	3	.8
boarding house	2	.6
paint store (1), dye and paint store (1)	2	.6
bookseller	1	.3
brush store	1	.3
chartstore	1	.3
chemist	1	.3
confectioner	1	.3
hide and leather store	1	.3
livery stable	1	.3
looking-glass store	1	.3
lumberyard	1	.3
music store	1	.3
silk goods	1	.3
stage house	1	.3
stoneyard	1	.3
tin store	1	.3
woolen draper	1	.3

	Number	Percent
Artisans:		
shoemaker (16), boot and shoemaker (2)	18	5.
carpenter	17	4.7
mason	9	2.5
tailor (5), merchant tailor (3), tailor and clothier (1)	9	2.5
cabinetmaker	8	2.2
smith	8	2.2
painter (5), sign and ornamental painter (1)	6	1.7
baker	5	1.4
butcher	4	1.1
chairmaker	4	1.1
watchmaker (3), clock and watchmaker (1)	4	1.1
stonecutter	4	1.1
builder	3	.8
hatter	3	.8
printer (2), bookseller and printer (1)	3	.8
bookbinder	2	.6
gilder	2	.6
rigger	2	.6
ropemaker	2	.6
shipjoiner	2	.6
silversmith	2	.6
upholsterer	2	.6
cardmaker	1	.3
carver	1	.3
chemical factory	1	.3
coach-maker	1	.3
coach-painter	1	.3
cordwainer	1	.3
engraver	1	.3
hairdresser	1	.3
jeweller	1	.3
looking-glass manufacturer	1	.3
malster	1	.3
perfumers	1	.3
plasterer	1	.3
saddler	1	.3
sailmaker	1	.3
shipwright	1	.3
slater	1	.3
tanner	1	.3
tinsmith	1	.3
umbrellamaker	1	.3
weaver	1	.3
Laborers and Cartmen:		
cartman (20), carter (4)	24	6.6
mariner	2	.6
boatman	1	.3

	Number	Percent
coachman	1	.3
house-mover	1	.3
laborer	1	.3
lamplighter	1	.3
Other:		
fisherman	1	.3
pieman	1	.3
Total	361	101.6

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR20A-F14.2.

Note: This was a systematic sample performed according to the procedures described by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. in Social Statistics (2nd edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 514-516. Since some men certainly signed twice the petition violated the rule that individuals can only appear once in the list from which the sample is taken. In fact, one man within the sample did sign twice. Nevertheless, lacking the time to strain out the duplicate signers from so huge a petition, I proceeded with the sample on the assumption that even an inadequate measure was better than none at all. I do think the sample is an adequate basis for saying that the common signers of the petition were largely artisans and shopkeepers. The petition had a printed text.

[a] These men were placed here because of their high status and importance within the city's economy, although they are not merchants. The categories are named after their predominant signers.

[b] See previous footnote.

APPENDIX 5A

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 23, 1829

Summary of All Signers (1462): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	678	46.4
Legible, found, no occupation listed	69	4.7
Legible, not in	271	18.5
Legible, too common	174	11.9
Illegible	270	18.5
Total	1462	100.

Summary of Occupations within Each Category (678)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	87	12.8
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	75	11.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	212	31.3
Artisans	258	38.1
Laborers and Cartmen	33	4.9
Other	13	1.9
Total	678	100.1

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (77), flour merchant (3), crockery-merchant (1), commission-merchant (1)	82	12.1
auctioneer	5	.7
Professionals, Clerical Workers and Government Officials:		
accountant	9	1.3
attorney (4), attorney and counselor (2), attorney and master in chancery (1), attorney, commissioner, and counselor (1)	8	1.2

	Number	Percent
M. D. (4), physician (2), M. D. surgeon (1)	7	1.0
reverend	6	.9
teacher	6	.9
clerk (4), clerk N. Y. B. (1)	5	.7
broker	4	.6
Sunday school agent (1), asst. sec. Am. Home Missionary Society (1), asst. sec. Am. Tract Society (1), deputy Am. Tract Society (1)	4	.6
publisher *Commercial Advertiser* (1), editor *Commercial Advertiser* (1), editor *Anti-Masonic Review* (1)	3	.4
shipmaster	3	.4
cashier Union Bank (1), cashier Bank Am. (1)	2	.3
city-sealer	2	.3
collector (1), money collector and agent for A. Finley's maps and atlases (1)	2	.3
dentist (1), surgeon dentist (1)	2	.3
bookkeeper	1	.1
Albion office	1	.1
C. H. officer (custom house?)	1	.1
inspector 4th ward	1	.1
intel. office	1	.1
keeper city prison or Bridwell	1	.1
lottery office	1	.1
miniature and portrait painter	1	.1
news collector	1	.1
pilot	1	.1
special justice	1	.1
weighmaster	1	.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer	76	11.2
drygoods	64	9.4
clothier	13	1.9
shoestore	10	1.5
druggist	10	1.5
leather store (8), hide store (1)	9	1.3
bookseller (4), bookstore (2)	6	.9
china-store	6	.9
porterhouse (3), tavern (1)	4	.6
hardware	3	.4
livery stable (1), stables (1)	2	.3
coal yard	1	.1
artificial florist	1	.1
comb store	1	.1
crockery	1	.1
finding-store	1	.1
hat store	1	.1
oyster-house	1	.1
pawnbroker	1	.1
smoke-house	1	.1

	Number	Percent
Artisans:		
shoemaker (37), cordwainer (2), bootmaker (1)	40	5.9
carpenter	31	4.6
printer (18), printers and stationers (1), printer and bookseller (1)	20	2.9
tailor (8), merchant-tailor (6), draper and tailor (2), tailor and clothing store (1)	17	2.5
painter	10	1.5
watchmaker	10	1.5
baker	9	1.3
cooper (7), cedar cooper (2)	9	1.3
cabinetmaker	8	1.2
hatter (7), morocco and cloth hatmaker (1)	8	1.2
currier	6	.9
mason	5	.7
tanner (4), tanner and currier (1)	5	.7
tinsmith	5	.7
bookbinder	4	.6
saddler	4	.6
hairdresser	4	.6
smith	4	.6
milliner	3	.4
paper-hanger	3	.4
shipcarpenter	3	.4
weaver	3	.4
block-maker (1), pump and blockmaker (1)	2	.3
builder	2	.3
carver	2	.3
combmaker	2	.3
dyer	2	.3
leather dresser	2	.3
paver	2	.3
plumber	2	.3
sailmaker	2	.3
brassfounder	1	.1
brush manufacturer	1	.1
butcher	1	.1
caulker	1	.1
chairmaker	1	.1
clothes cleaner	1	.1
coach-maker	1	.1
distiller	1	.1
engineer	1	.1
engraver	1	.1
grate and fence maker	1	.1
iron-chest factory	1	.1
ivory turner	1	.1
jeweller	1	.1

	Number	Percent
locksmith	1	.1
machinist	1	.1
morocco-manufacturer	1	.1
musical instrument maker	1	.1
paper-stainer	1	.1
perfumer	1	.1
scale-beam maker	1	.1
ship-joiner	1	.1
signpainter	1	.1
silversmith	1	.1
stereotyper	1	.1
tallow chandler	1	.1
thimble-maker	1	.1
trunk-maker	1	.1
umbrella manufacturer	1	.1
Laborers:		
cartman (17), carter (5)	22	3.2
porter	4	.6
labourer	2	.3
mariner	2	.3
boatman	1	.1
hatfinnisher	1	.1
stevedore	1	.1
Other:		
oysterman	3	.4
black[a]	2	.3
huxter	1	.1
milkman	1	.1
peddler	1	.1
postman	1	.1
say	1	.1
steam scourer	1	.1
vegetable medicines	1	.1
waiter	1	.1
Total	678	96.7

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR20A-G5-1, Drawer #275.

Note: Printed text. Eight duplicate signers and one triplicate signer.

[a] This term does not mean Negro. When the Directory wanted to list someone who was Negro, they were noted as "coloured."

UMI

APPENDIX 5B

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 23, 1829

Names	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Adams, Lewis	bookseller, 29	3
Adriance, Garret	carpenter, 29	4
Akin, Albert J.	drygoods, 29	3
Aldrich, Arnold	shoe-store, 28	3
Aldrich, S.W.	watch-maker, 28	4
Allen, George N.	merchant, 29	1
Allen, Justin H.	grocer, 29	3
Anderson, Benjamin	baker, 29	4
Anderson, Daniel	carpenter, 29	4
Andrews, Charles C.	teacher, 29	2
Andros, William	shipmaster, 29	2
Andruss, Dennis	grocer, 29	3
Arents, William	cooper, 29	4
Arey, Samuel	carpenter, 29	4
Armstrong, Gillespie	drygoods, 29	3
Ashfield, Alfred	druggist, 29	3
Asten, Peter	grocer, 29	3
Auwerter, John G.	No occupation	
Avery, Samuel P.	shoemaker, 29	4
Aymar, James M.	bookbinder, 29	4
Ayres, James S.	drygoods, 29	3
Backus, E.	Legible, not in	
Backus, Frederick R.	No occupation	
Backus, William	carpenter, 29	4
Bailey, Peter	huxter, 28	6
Bailey, Samuel G.	shipmaster, 29	2
Baker, Amaziah	cartman, 29	5
Baldwin, J.L.	drygoods, 29	3
Bancroft, Monson	book-store, 29	3
Banks, Henry	waiter, 29	6
Banks, William R.	merchant, 29	1
Barker, Elijah C.	grocer, 29	3

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Barker, Richard P.	merchant, 29	1
Barmore, A.C.	grocer, 29	3
Barnard, A.H.	Legible, not in	
Barnes, Walter	Legible, not in	
Barnett, James	tinsmith, 29	4
Barnum, Egbert W.	No occupation	
Barrow, John Jr.	merchant, 29	1
Barrow, Lawrence	Legible, not in	
Bartlett, J.R.	miniature & portrait painter, 28	2
Bartlett, John S.	Albion office, 29	2
Bassett, Sam	Legible, not in	
Bastien, John	hairdresser, 28	4
Bates, Gilbert (signed twice)	merchant, 29	1
Baylis, A.B.	Legible, not in	
Beach, B.B.	drygoods, 28	3
Beach, Lewis	Legible, not in	
Beach, Louis	drygoods, 29	3
Beach, Munson	drygoods, 30	3
Benedict, Lewis	shoemaker, 29	4
Benedict, Samuel W.	watchmaker, 29	4
Benjamin, Meigs D.	drygoods, 29	3
Bennett, Andrew	builder, 29	4
Benson, Robert	No occupation	
Berrian, Daniel	brush manuf., 29	4
Berrian, William	clothier, 29	3
Berry, William	ivory turner, 29	4
Betts, George W.	merchant, 29	1
Betts, John L.	No occupation	
Betts, John W.	cooper, 29	4
Bigam, William	Legible, not in	
Birdsall, William	flour merchant, 29	1
Bishop, Henry	Legible, not in	
Blackwell, Joseph	butcher, 29	4
Blackwell, Josiah	merchant, 29	1
Blanks, David	Legible, not in	
Blatchford, Samuel M.	merchant, 30	1
Blew, Moses	oysterman, 29	6
Bliss, Theodore	No occupation	
Bogardus, Edgar	Legible, not in	
Boggs, William G.	printer, 30	4
Boker, A. & W.C.	clothiers, 29	3
Bond, Edward	hatter, 28	4
Bostwick, Joel	cooper, 29	4
Bostwick, John H. (signed twice)	coal-yard, 29	3
Bovie, Jacob	carpenter, 29	4
Bowne, Lindly	Legible, not in	
Bowne, Richard A.	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Bowne, Samuel	No occupation	
Bowne, Thomas P.	leather store, 29	3
Boylan, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Brady, Benjamin	currier, 29	4
Brice, John	No occupation	
Briggs, Edward	plumber, 29	4
Briggs, Elijah	grocer, 28	3
Brinckerhoff, George B.	grocer, 29	3
Brinckerhoff, Walter	grocer, 30	3
Brinkerhoff, Jacob	No occupation	
Brooke, Abraham	druggist, 29	3
Brooke, P.H.	Legible, not in	
Brooks, Henry S. & Co.	clothier, 28	3
Browlley, T.H.	Legible, not in	
Brown, Elijah H.	carter, 30	5
Brown, Joseph W.	grocer, 29	3
Brown, Samuel P.	hardware, 29	3
Brown, William H.	Legible, not in	
Browne, James W.	Legible, not in	
Browning, Archibald	tailor, 30	4
Bruing, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Brutus, James	Legible, not in	
Bryan, Thomas	dyer, 28	4
Bryson, David	tanner & currier, 29	4
Buckley, Daniel	shoemaker, 28	4
Buckley, Matthias	shoemaker, 29	4
Budd, William A. & Co.	drygoods, 30	3
Bunker, Reuben	weighmaster, 29	4
Bunting, Soloman	Legible, not in	
Burden, Joseph W.	accountant, 28	2
Burks, John	grocer, 29	3
Burling, Cornelius	No occupation	
Burling, James	No occupation	
Burling, John	smith, 30	4
Burling, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Burr, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Burras, Dr. Thomas H.	Legible, not in	
Burrough, John	Legible, not in	
Burt, Miles C.	Legible, not in	
Burt, Peter	Legible, not in	
Bush, George	accountant, 29	2
Bush, R.E.	merchant, 30	1
Bush, Samuel	stevadore, 29	5
Bussing, Edmund K.	merchant, 29	1
Bussing, John S.	merchant, 29	1
Butcher, Samuel	merchant, 29	1
Byrnes, Henry	shoemaker, 29	4
Cairns, William Jr.	broker, 29	2
Caldwell, C.J.	Legible, not in	
Callen, William	cooper, 29	4
Callow, James	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Camerden, John	shoe-store, 29	3
Cameron, John J.	attorney, 29	2
Cannon, Jacob	cooper ("coloured"), 29	4
Cannon, Joseph S.	merchant-tailor, 29	4
Carle & nephew, Silas	druggists, 28	3
Carman, Stephen	locksmith, 28	4
Carpenter, David	grocer, 29	3
Carpenter, Elisha	shoemaker, 29	4
Carpenter, Henry M.	grocer, 29	3
Carpenter, Len	Legible, not in	
Carpenter, Uriah F.	drygoods, 29	3
Carrigan, Andrew	grocer, 29	3
Cartee, Peter M.	Legible, not in	
Carter, Charles	teacher, 29	2
Cauldwell, Ebenezer	china store, 29	3
Caulfield, James	Legible, not in	
Chambers, James G.	Legible, not in	
Champley, George	bookbinder, 29	4
Chandler, Adoniran	stereotyper, 29	4
Chapin, Julius	chairmaker, 29	4
Chardavoyne, William & T.C.	plumbers, 29	4
Chatterton, Gilbert R.	shoemaker, 28	4
Chatterton, Thomas	auctioneer, 29	1
Chevers, P.W.	Legible, not in	
Chichester, Abner	No occupation	
Chillas, James	Legible, not in	
Cisco, John J.	clothier, 29	3
Clapp, William R.	Legible, not in	
Clark, Benjamin M.	mason, 28	4
Clark, Daniel P.	merchant, 30	1
Clark, Edward	merchant, 28	1
Clark, Levi B.	bookkeeper, 29	2
Clark, Richard	mason, 29	4
Clark, Theodore	hatter, 28	4
Clark, Timothy	Legible, not in	
Clarke, F.A.	No occupation	
Class, Samuel	black, 28	6
Clement, Moses	carpenter, 29	4
Close, Jonathan A.	drygoods, 29	3
Clowes, Valentine	No occupation	
Clussman, George H.	merchant, 29	1
Cob, A.H.	Legible, not in	
Cochran, Thomas	No occupation	
Cole, Elisha Jr.	accountant, 28	2
Coles, Caleb	shoe-store, 28	3
Coles, Robert Jr.	drygoods, 29	3
Coles, William P.	drygoods, 29	3
Coley, Daniel	clothier, 29	3
Collins, Charles	merchant, 29	1
Collins, Jacob	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Colwell, A.J.	Legible, not in	
Colwell, Caleb C.	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Comstock, William	grocer, 30	3
Conklin, D.P.	tanner, 29	4
Conkling, Henry C.	Legible, not in	
Connelly, Lawrence	laborer, 30	5
Conroy, Thomas	tinsmith, 29	4
Cook, A.L.	Legible, not in	
Cook, Charles T.	porter-house, 28	3
Cook, Francis	oysterman, 30	6
Coombel, V.L.	Legible, not in	
Corey, Abijah W.	Sunday School agent, 29	2
Corlies, George	merchant, 29	1
Cornell, Richard	grocer, 29	3
Cornell, Robert C.	No occupation	
Cornish, Samuel E.	Legible, not in	
Corse, Barney	currier, 29	4
Corse, Israel & Son	leather store, 29	3
Covert, Jacob F.	drygoods, 30	3
Cox, Jameson	baker, 29	4
Cox, Sydney	Legible, not in	4
Cox, Samuel	No occupation	
Crane, Charles	Legible, not in	
Crane, Elijah	shoe-store, 29	3
Crane, Ira	Legible, not in	
Crane, John S.	grocer, 29	3
Craus, J.B.	Legible, not in	
Crawford, Elijah	Legible, not in	
Crawford, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Cromwell, Charles	merchant, 28	1
Cromwell, Charles T.	Legible, not in	
Cromwell, Daniel	carpenter, 28	4
Cromwell, William	drygoods, 29	3
Cropsey, Nathan	No occupation	
Crowell, Randolph	carpenter, 28	4
Crygier, John	bookbinder, 29	4
Cusser, William	shoemaker, 29	4
Daguid, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Dalrymple, Joseph	cordwainer, 29	4
Daly, Matthew	drygoods, 28	3
Davenport, Jerome	Legible, not in	
Davidson, John E.	grocer, 29	3
Davidson, Tyler	drygoods, 30	3
Davies, Luke	morocco & cloth hat m., 28	4
Davis, Henry	carpenter, 29	4
Davis, Solomon	Legible, not in	
Davis, William P.	boatman, 29	5
Davison, C.	watchmaker, 29	4
Davy, Richard	Legible, not in	
Davy, Robert P.	hardware, 29	3
Day, James J.	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Day, Mahlon	printer & bookseller, 30	4
Day, Thomas Jr.	paper-hanger, 29	4
Dean, Gilbert	No occupation	
Delanoy, John	Legible, not in	
Denison, Ezra	merchant, 29	1
Dewitt, Robert	No occupation	
Dick, rev. John	bookstore, 29	3
Dickinson, Alfred A.	Legible, not in	
Dieterich, John P.	auctioneer, 29	1
Dill, Robert	Legible, not in	
Dill, Vincent L.	printer, 29	4
Dodge, Richard J.	Legible, not in	
Dorcey, Loyd	Legible, not in	
Dorset, Thomas	cabinetmaker, 29	4
Doty, Daniel W.	merchant, 29	1
Dougall, Henry W.	Legible, not in	
Douglas, George	carpenter, 29	4
Doxy, Thomas C.	painter, 30	4
Drake, John F.	grocer, 29	3
Drake, N.J.	Legible, not in	
Draper, Hiram	druggist, 30	3
Driscoll, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Dunn, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Dunshee, John	No occupation	
Dunshee, Samuel	grocer, 28	3
Duryea, Daniel	cartman, 28	5
Dyer, Henry P.	Legible, not in	
Dykes, Basil	baker, 29	4
Dymack, William	Legible, not in	
Eagle, John	drygoods, 29	3
Eastman, Jonathan	attorney, 29	2
Easton, William	china store, 29	3
Ebbets, Daniel Jr.	cashier, 29	2
Edmonds, Henry R.	teacher, 29	2
Edmonds, Thomas	accountant, 29	2
Edmonds, William	accountant, 29	2
Edward, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Edwards, Robert	tailor & clothing-store, 28	4
Edwards, T.C.A.	Legible, not in	
Edwards, Walter	attorney, 29	2
Elmendorph, Sylvester R.	Legible, not in	
Elmer, William L.	Legible, not in	
Elston, Alexander	bootmaker, 29	4
Ely, Abner L.	drygoods, 30	3
Ely, John Jr.	drygoods, 29	3
Embree, Effingham L. (signed twice)	merchant, 29	1
Embree, John L.	druggist, 29	3
Ennis, James	carpenter, 29	4
Everett, Christopher	signpainter, 29	4

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Everit, V. & Co.	leather store, 29	3
Everite, Henry	Legible, not in	
Everite, Richard	Legible, not in	
Everitt, John L.	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Everitt, William H.	drygoods, 30	3
Everson, J.D.	tanner, 29	4
Fairchild, Cyrus	cartman, 29	5
Fairley, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Falconer, Samuel	shoemaker, 28	4
Falconi, Charles B.	No occupation	
Fanington, A.	Legible, not in	
Farmer, George	Legible, not in	
Farrow, Thomas	baker, 29	4
Faulkner, Jacob	grocer, 29	3
Fay, John	drapper & tailor, 29	4
Feeks, David	shoemaker, 29	4
Fells, John	Legible, not in	
Fenwick, William	cooper, 29	4
Ferris, James	No occupation	
Ferris, Nathaniel	merchant, 29	1
Fessenden, Thomas	attorney & counselor, 29	2
Field, Benjamin	saddler, 29	4
Field, Josiah	merchant, 29	1
Field, Leonard	printer, 28	4
Field, Richard	merchant, 29	1
Field, Samuel	mason, 29	4
Field, Thomas H.	Legible, not in	
Finch, John	printer, 29	4
Finigan, Thomas	grocer, 29	3
Firth, John	musical instrument-maker, 28	4
Fish, Preserved	No occupation	
Fisher, John Jr.	shoemaker, 29	4
Fisher, O.	Legible, not in	
Flincher, Able	Legible, not in	
Flyn, Edward	Legible, not in	
Foley, Patrick	paver, 29	4
Foley, Patrick D.	No occupation	
Foley, William	merchant, 28	1
Folger, Nathan C.	Legible, not in	
Forbes, David C.	Legible, not in	
Forman, Richard T.	Legible, not in	
Forster, William F.	tavern, 30	3
Foster, George M.	smith, 29	4
Fraborn, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Fraborn, George	Legible, not in	
Frame, Thomas L.	merchant, 30	1
Francis, Charles S.	bookseller, 29	3
Francis, Isaac	surgeon dentist, 28	2
Franklin, Abraham	grocer, 29	3
Franklin, George W.	engineer, 29	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Franklin, Morris	broker, 28	2
Franklin, Thomas	auctioneer, 29	1
Franklin, Thomas, Jr.	Legible, not in	
Franklin, Townsend U.	Legible, not in	
French, James	grocer, 30	3
Frost, D. A.	grocer, 28	3
Frost, Philemon H.	merchant, 30	1
Frost, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Fuller, William	milliner, 29	4
Furey, William	paver, 30	4
Garbrance, Henry	Legible, not in	
Gardner, James A. M.	M. D., 28	2
Gardner, Thomas	cooper, 29	4
Gardner, William G.	grocer, 29	3
Garrison, William	painter, 29	4
Garthwaite, Stephen	cartman, 29	5
Gaylor, John	caulker, 29	4
Geery, James	grocer, 29	3
Gibb, James	printer, 30	4
Gibbons, John	weaver, 29	4
Gidney, E.	dentist, 29	2
Giffin, Charles H.	leather-store, 28	3
Gilbert, Clinton	drygoods, 30	3
Gillon, Charles D.	Legible, not in	
Gladd, David	accountant, 29	2
Gold, Daniel D.	Legible, not in	
Goodwin, Eli	No occupation	
Gordon, Matthew	tailor, 29	4
Gordon, Thomas	weaver, 29	4
Gould, Edward B.	law bookseller, 29	3
Gray, Charles T.	drygoods, 30	3
Greenin, John	smith, 29	4
Greenwood, Henry B.	grocer, 29	3
Griffen, John (signed twice)	merchant, 29	1
Griffen, John D.	drygoods, 30	3
Griffen, Peter	watchmaker, 29	4
Griffen, Solomon & Co.	merchants, 29	1
Guion, Monmouth H.	china-store, 28	3
Hadley, Ritter	china-store, 29	3
Haff, J. P. & Son	shoemakers, 29	4
Hagar, Jonas	shipcarpenter, 29	4
Haight, John G.	saddler, 28	4
Haight, Lewis	Legible, not in	
Haines, Daniel	shoemaker, 29	4
Hall, Charles	asst. secy. American Home Mission Society, 29	2
Hall, Francis & Co.	publish. *Commercial Advertiser*, 29	2
Hall, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Hall, John B.	sailmaker, 29	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hallock, Horace	merchant-tailor, 28	4
Halsey, Anthony P.	accountant, 28	2
Halsey, Ledyard H.	carpenter, 29	4
Halsted, Schureman	drygoods, 29	3
Hamman, Thomas J.	Legible, not in	
Hampton, Adam	grate & fence maker, 29	4
Hance, Revo C.	merchant, 29	1
Hand, Aaron H.	drygoods, 30	3
Hanmer, John & Co.	grocers, 29	3
Hardenburgh, Rev. James B.	rev., 30	2
Hardie, Daniel	printer, 29	4
Harris, James	grocer, 28	3
Harris, John H.	hatter, 29	4
Hart, Benjamin F.	teacher, 29	2
Hartman, John H.	Legible, not in	
Hartman, Lewis	grocer, 29	3
Hartt, Hiram	Legible, not in	
Harven, John P.	Legible, not in	
Harwood, William B.	Legible, not in	
Hatheway, J.B.	Legible, not in	
Havens, Henry P.	grocer, 29	3
Havens, James H.	Legible, not in	
Haviland, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Haviland, James C.	druggist, 29	3
Hawkes, Pitty	Legible, not in	
Hawxhurst, Nathan Jr.	merchant, 28	1
Hawxhurst, Nathaniel	No occupation	
Haydock, Henry	No occupation	
Haydock, R. Hicks	Legible, not in	
Haydock, William W.	merchant, 29	1
Hayt, James R.	No occupation	
Hayt, John P.	Legible, not in	
Haziard, Ely	hairdresser ("coloured"),30	4
Hazlet, William R.	hat store, 29	3
Hedger, Jeremiah T.	printer, 29	4
Hedley, John H.	cabinetmaker, 29	4
Hegeman, Peter	merchant, 29	1
Henderson, John C.	drygoods, 30	3
Hesten, Gilbert	M.D. surgeon, 29	2
Hewitt, C.Y.W.	Legible, not in	
Hewlett, Joseph	merchant, 28	1
Heyer, Henry A.	No occupation	
Hicks, James	Legible, not in	
Hicks, Robert M.	merchant, 29	1
Hicks, Silas	merchant, 29	1
Hicks, Whitehead	No occupation	
Higgins, Abner	merchant, 29	1
Higgins, Harvey	carter, 30	5
Higgins, James W.	grocer, 29	3
Hill, Enoch	merchant, 29	1

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hill, Robert	baker, 29	4
Hills, Francis F.	Legible, not in	
Hilton, E.	grocer, 29	3
Hippes, Joseph F.	Legible, not in	
Hoag, John	grocer, 29	3
Hodges, Tyzack	grocer, 28	3
Hodgson, Rath^{s}(?)	Legible, not in	
Hoe, William	carpenter, 29	4
Holbert, Charles	Legible, not in	
Holden, Asa	No occupation	
Holder, Daniel	shoe-store, 29	3
Hollis, Daniel	black, 28	6
Holmes, Alanson	shoemaker, 28	4
Holmes, Edward W.	No occupation	
Hook, John	baker, 30	4
Hoople, William H.	leather dresser, 30	4
Hopkins, Charles	Legible, not in	
Hopkins, George F.& Son	printers & stationers, 29	4
Hopkins, Gerard	leather-store, 30	3
Hopkins, Moss	Legible, not in	
Hopkins, William	steam scourer, 29	6
Hopson, James	special justice, 29	2
Horton, J.G.	merchant, 29	1
How, Fisher	merchant, 29	1
Howard, John A.	carpenter, 29	4
Howe, George C.	watchmaker, 29	4
Howe, Jesse	drygoods, 29	3
Howell, Elias B.	stables, 30	3
Howland, Alfred	drygoods, 29	3
Hoyett, J.O.	Legible, not in	
Hoyt, Asa	grocer, 29	3
Hoyt, Edwin	merchant, 29	1
Hoyt, Joseph	grocer, 29	3
Hudson, John W.	Legible, not in	
Hudson, L.	shoemaker, 29	4
Huger, Francis B.	Legible, not in	
Hughes, James	carpenter, 30	4
Hull, Edward Jr.	hardware, 29	3
Hull, Henry O.	porter & cider vault, 29	3
Hull, John Jr.	tallow-chandler, 29	4
Hulley, William	No occupation	
Hunn, John	hide store, 29	3
Hunt, Edmund L.	drygoods, 29	3
Hunt, Harvy	drygoods, 29	3
Hunter, Charles	shoemaker, 29	4
Hunter, William	clothier, 29	3
Husa, H.	Legible, not in	
Hutchenson, Samuel J.	Legible, not in	
Hutchins, William	shoestore, 28	3
Hutchinson, Samuel	weaver, 29	4
Hutson, William	intel. office, 29	2

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hyatt, Joshua	merchant, 29	1
Hyatt, Montrop	Legible, not in	
Isaacson, Morris	Legible, not in	
Jackson, Benjamin	merchant, 29	1
Jackson, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Jaggar, Walter	merchant, 29	1
James, Josiah H.	scalebeam-maker, 29	4
Jamison, Robert	grocer, 29	3
Jarvis, Charles A.	grocer, 28	3
Jarvis, James	shoemaker, 28	4
Jenkins, Joshua	Legible, not in	
Jenkins, Reuben	shipmaster, 28	2
Jenkins, Simon	Legible, not in	
Jenkinson, James	printer, 29	4
Jennings, Ebenezer	cartman, 29	5
Jennings, William	carpenter, 29	4
Jennings, William L.	Legible, not in	
Jewell, John N.	shoemaker, 30	4
Jinnings, Thomas L.	clothes cleaner, 29	4
John, Samuel S.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Jonathan K.	grocer, 29	3
Johnson, Levi B.	druggist, 29	3
Johnson, Oscar	grocer, 30	3
Johnson, Thomas G.	cartman, 29	5
Johnson, William P.	shoemaker, 29	4
Jones, Abraham S.	No occupation	
Jones, Evan	livery stable, 29	3
Jones, H.H.	clothier, 29	3
Jones, Jacob P.	printer, 29	4
Jones, John Henry	Legible, not in	
Jones, John W.	grocer, 30	3
Jones, S.W.	Legible, not in	
Jordan, Andrew	drygoods, 28	3
Julis, Robert	printer, 30	4
Kashow, Abraham	shoemaker, 29	4
Kellogg, William F.	carpenter, 29	4
Kemp, Rheuben	Legible, not in	
Ketcham, James	watch maker, 28	4
Kingsbury, Oliver R.	Legible, not in	
Kint, Charles	oyster-house, 29	3
Knapp, Josiah P.	No occupation	
Knowles, John	grocer, 29	3
Knowlton, Josiah B.	boots & shoes, 29	3
Knowlton, T.R.	Legible, not in	
Kradshaw, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Kumbel, William	currier, 29	4
Laidlaw, Robert	drygoods, 29	3
Laine, David	grocer, 28	3
Lake, William W.	teacher, 29	2

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Lamberson, David Jr.	hatfinisher, 30	5
Lamoreux, J.W.	Legible, not in	
Lamotte, John	tinsmith, 29	4
Lane, Josiah A.	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Lane, William	drygoods, 29	3
Larocque, John	drygoods, 29	3
Law, John	coach-maker, 28	4
Lawrence, Charles	clothier, 29	3
Lawrence, Henry H.	No occupation	
Leach, George W.	Legible, not in	
Lebllam, William	Legible, not in	
Lee, Isaac	smith, 28	4
Lee, Joseph R.	watchmaker, 30	4
Leger, Charles G.	Legible, not in	
Leggete, Henry C.	Legible, not in	
Leggett, James W.	Legible, not in	
Leggett, John	No occupation	
Leggett, Thomas Jr.	merchant, 29	1
Lemaire, John	No occupation	
Lennon, James	shoemaker, 29	4
Lenz, Henry F.	hairdresser, 28	4
Lester, Michael	grocer, 29	3
Leveridge, John	attorney, 29	2
Lewis, James M.	carpenter, 28	4
Lewis, John	ship-joiner, 29	4
Lewis, Samuel M.	pump & block maker, 29	4
Liebenau, Frederick	engraver, 29	4
Listen, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Lockett, Jeremiah	Legible, not in	
Lockwood, Ezekiel	drygoods, 30	3
Lockwood, Hezekiah L.	shoemaker, 29	4
Lockwood, Joseph W.	china-store, 29	3
Lockwood, Lewis	drygoods, 30	3
Lockwood, Neily	Legible, not in	
Lockwood, Odle	merchant, 28	1
Lockwood, Roe	bookseller, 29	3
Lockwood, Walter Jr.	No occupation	
Lockwood, Walter Sr.	cartman, 29	5
Logue, Edward	grocer, 29	3
Loines, William	carpenter, 29	4
Loomis, Abiel	leather-store, 29	3
Loomis, Lewis E.	Legible, not in	
Lord, Abner R. & Co.	merchants, 29	1
Lord, B.B.	Legible, not in	
Lounsbury, James	laborer, 29	5
Loutrell, William	Legible, not in	
Lovel, Joseph N.	Legible, not in	
Lovett, James	merchant, 29	1
Lovett, John	grocer, 29	3
Lowers, William	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Lucas, Aaron	shoemaker, 29	4
Ludlow, Rev. Henry G.	rev., 29	2
Lummis, Benjamin R.	drygoods, 28	3
Lummis, William M.	drygoods, 30	3
Lumson, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Lyall, John	porter, 28	5
Lyon, Albert	Legible, not in	
Lyon, Nicholas B.	inspector 4th ward, 29	2
McAdam, Richard	Legible, not in	
McAdam, Thomas	Legible, not in	
McGowan, Michael	peddler, 29	6
McIntyre, R.R.	Legible, not in	
McKinley, John M.	No occupation	
McKinney, Amos	currier, 29	4
McLean, Edward	merchant, 30	1
McLoin, Peter	Legible, not in	
McMahon, John	grocer, 30	3
McMurray, James	Legible, not in	
McVeagh, William Jr.	shoemaker, 30	4
McVeagh, William Sr.	Legible, not in	
Macfarlan, Thomas	painter, 29	4
Maclay, Archibald	rev., 28	2
Maclay, R.H.	M.D., 28	2
Macy, Charles A.	Legible, not in	
Macy, H.B.	Legible, not in	
Macy, Isaiah	builder, 29	4
Macy, Robert B.	Legible, not in	
Maitland, Charles	drygoods, 29	3
Mangam, Daniel	cartman, 29	5
Marander, John	porter, 28	5
Marks, Moses I.	cartman, 29	5
Marlet, John	Legible, not in	
Marriner, John	painter, 29	4
Marsh, Evert	currier, 29	4
Marshall, Jonathan	painter, 29	4
Marshall, John Day	Legible, not in	
Marshall, William C.	Legible, not in	
Martel, Lenis	Legible, not in	
Martin, John W.	grocer, 28	3
Mason, T.C.	Legible, not in	
Mathews, Oliver	drygoods, 29	3
Matthews, Charles	drygoods, 29	3
Maxwell, Jacob	mason, 28	4
Maxwell, William H.	att. com. & couns., 29	2
Mead, James B.	Legible, not in	
Mead, Marcus	Legible, not in	
Mead, Rufus	merchant, 28	1
Meiker, William E.	Legible, not in	
Mend, Walter	Legible, not in	
Merritt, Daniel	grocer, 30	3
Merritt, Elijah	cartman, 29	5

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Meserole, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Meserole, John	grocer, 29	3
Messinger, R.H.H.	Legible, not in	
Messinger, Thomas H.H.	merchant, 29	1
Middleton, Charles	shoemaker, 29	4
Miles, E.A.	drygoods, 29	3
Miller, John H.	mariner, 29	5
Miller, Samuel	watchmaker, 29	4
Miller, William P.	leather store, 30	3
Milligan, G.M.	Legible, not in	
Moe, Isaac L.	drygoods, 29	3
Monell, John I.	silversmith, 29	4
Montross, Horace B.	hatter, 29	4
Montross, Jacob C.	merchant, 29	1
Montross, William	merchant, 30	1
Mooney, John	shoemaker, 30	4
Mooney, Walter	grocer, 29	3
Moore, Thomas C.	Legible, not in	
Morehouse, Andrew K.	No occupation	
Morgan, Johnston	cordwainer, 29	4
Morris, Aaron	oysterman, 29	6
Morris, Ezra	Legible, not in	
Morris, Herman	Legible, not in	
Morris, Robert	grocer, 29	3
Mortimer, George	No occupation	
Mott, Adam	No occupation	
Mott, Charles	carver, 28	4
Mott, E.M.	Legible, not in	
Mott, Richard Jr.	Legible, not in	
Mott, Samuel C.	Legible, not in	
Mott, Samuel F.	merchant, 29	1
Mott, Thomas	paper-hanging, 29	4
Mott, William F.	merchant, 29	1
Mottashed, Jonathan	china, 29	3
Mould, Charles	money collector and agent for A. Finley's maps and atlases, 29	2
Mundy, John	Legible, not in	
Munson, Albert	Legible, not in	
Murray, David R.	Legible, not in	
Nash, James	grocer, 29	3
Nash, Josephus	Legible, not in	
Nelson, Andrew	merchant, 29	1
Newbold, George	cashier Bank America, 29	2
Newman, A.	Legible, not in	
Nichols, William	carpenter, 29	4
Nicolletti, Joseph Jr.	artificial florist, 29	3
Noe, Michael	postman, 29	6
Noyes, Isaac R. (signed twice)	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Oakley, James M.	grocer, 28	3
Oakley, John W.	No occupation	
Oakley, Wilmot	drygoods, 29	3
Octon, Law	Legible, not in	
Odell, Jonathan	Legible, not in	
Odell, Reuben	painter, 29	4
Odell, William D.	cartman, 29	5
Offen, Charles	grocer, 28	3
Ogden, A.W.	Legible, not in	
Osborn, Peter	dyer, 28	4
Osborn, W.P.	Legible, not in	
Ostrander, Gideon	collector, 29	2
Ostrander, Isaac	grocer, 29	3
Ostrander, John A.	No occupation	
Ostrom, Sheperd	No occupation	
Page, Harlan	dep. American Tract Society, 28	2
Page, John	leather-dresser, 28	4
Pares, Francis (signed twice)	paper hanger, 29	4
Parker, Asa	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Parker, Griffin	Legible, not in	
Parker, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Parker, Washington	Legible, not in	
Parks, Walter C.	Legible, not in	
Parmelee & Young	merchants, 29	1
Parsells, Pierre	clerk, 29	2
Parsons, Joseph	grocer, 29	3
Patmich, William S.	Legible, not in	
Pattinson, Hugh	printer, 30	4
Patton, George D.	Legible, not in	
Paul, Charles W.	Legible, not in	
Paul, Thomas J.	Legible, not in	
Payne, David H.	mason, 29	4
Pearsall, E.B.	merchant, 29	1
Pearsall, William Jr.	merchant, 29	1
Pearson, John	auctioneer, 29	1
Persiang, John	Legible, not in	
Peters, Lawrence	Legible, not in	
Peterson, Isreal	Legible, not in	
Peterson, J.O.	Legible, not in	
Peterson, Peter	mariner, 30	5
Petit, Joseph	merchant, 30	1
Phillips, Charles C.	Legible, not in	
Phillips, D.B.	shoemaker, 29	4
Phillips, William W.	rev., 28	2
Pidgeon, John	printer, 29	4
Pike, Moses S.	clothier, 29	3
Pike, Otis	drygoods, 29	3
Pike, Thomas	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Pinneo, James B.	merchant, 29	1
Pinneo, William W.	Legible, not in	
Platt, George W.	thimble-maker, 29	4
Polhamus, Richard I.	merchant, 29	1
Post, Barth.	Legible, not in	
Post, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Post, William L.	distiller, 29	4
Potter, Alden	machinist, 29	4
Potts, Abraham	milliner, 29	4
Potts, George	shoe store, 29	3
Powel, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Powell, Robert	carpenter, 29	4
Prentiss, James & Co.	brokers, 29	2
Prentiss, N. Smith	perfumer, 29	4
Pringle, Thomas	clerk N.Y.B., 28	2
Prout, Jacob	shoemaker, 29	4
Pryer, Marselus	cabinet-maker, 28	4
Quigley, Peter	Legible, not in	
Radley, George A.	cedar cooper, 29	4
Rae, John	clothier, 29	3
Ramage, William	printer, 29	4
Rapelye, James R.	grocer, 29	3
Rawling, Robert	drygoods, 28	3
Ray, Joseph H.	printer, 29	4
Raynor, David	grocer, 30	3
Read, Matthew	Legible, not in	
Redman, Charles H.	cedar cooper, 28	4
Redmond, Samuel	umbrella manufacturer, 29	4
Reed, Thomas	shoemaker, 29	4
Rees, John	grocer, 29	3
Reeves, Jeremiah	carpenter, 28	4
Reynolds, Bush	carter, 30	5
Reynolds, Hanford	merchant-tailor, 30	4
Reynolds, Lockwood	cartman, 29	5
Reynolds, Morris	Legible, not in	
Rich, James	tanner, 28	4
Richard, Francis G.	Legible, not in	
Richards, Richard	carpenter, 29	4
Ripley, Hezekiah W.	No occupation	
Ripley, William	clerk, 30	2
Roach, Peter R.	merchant, 30	1
Roberts, Charles L.	merchant, 29	1
Roberts, David	paper-stainer, 30	4
Roberts, R.H.	Legible, not in	
Robertson, David H.	merchant, 29	1
Robins, John & John H.	drygoods, 28	3
Robins, Nathan	merchant, 29	1
Robinson, John E.	Legible, not in	
Rockwell, David	drygoods, 29	3
Rockwell, H.	clothier, 29	3

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Rockwell, Rufus	drygoods, 30	3
Roe, Joseph B.	Legible, not in	
Roe, Livingston	Legible, not in	
Rogers, Edward	Legible, not in	
Rogers, Stephen N.	shoemaker, 29	4
Rowland, Henry	painter, 29	4
Rowland, James	grocer, 29	3
Roy, William	drygoods, 28	3
Rudd, Charles D.	Legible, not in	
Russwurm, John B.	printer, 29	4
Rutherford, Robert	drygoods, 29	3
Ryan, James J.	drygoods, 29	3
Salmon, Henry	Legible, not in	
Salmon, William H.	watchmaker, 29	4
Sands, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Sands, Robert C.	Legible, not in	
Savage, Samuel	merchant-tailor, 29	4
Sayre, Charles D.	grocer, 29	3
Sayre, John S.	Legible, not in	
Schruman, Jacob	carpenter, 28	4
Schultz, George	clerk, 29	2
Scofield, Ezra & Co.	merchants, 29	1
Scofield, Philo	Legible, not in	
Seaman, Percival	merchant, 29	1
Seaman, Valentine	Legible, not in	
Seaman, Willett	auctioneer, 28	1
Seaman, Wright	porter, 29	5
Sears, Elnathan H.	c.h. (customs house?) officer, 30	2
Seton, Samuel W.	Legible, not in	
Seybolt, Ira	drygoods, 29	3
Shannon, Hugh H.	Legible, not in	
Shannon, William	carpenter, 29	4
Shatzel, John	grocer, 29	3
Shaw, Peter S.	rev., 30	2
Shelden, Henry	merchant, 29	1
Sherman, Charles	No occupation	
Sherman, James	carpenter, 29	4
Sherwood, Peter M.	Legible, not in	
Shiall, Abraham	Legible, not in	
Shillin, S.O.	Legible, not in	
Shindler, Simon	No occupation	
Shipley, Morris	No occupation	
Shipley, M. & T.C.	drygoods, 28	3
Shipley, William	drygoods, 29	3
Shotwell, E.R.	Legible, not in	
Shotwell, Harvey	druggist, 28	3
Simmons, Peter H.	No occupation	
Simons, H.A.	accountant, 29	2
Simpson, Charles	tinsmith, 30	4
Simpson, J.P.	city sealer, 29	2

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Skellorn, George W.	keeper city prison or Bridwell, 29	2
Skidmore, J.C.	Legible, not in	
Slocum, Edward	Legible, not in	
Smedes, Andrew Rose	Legible, not in	
Smith, Amos	merchant-tailor, 30	4
Smith, Albert G.W.	M.D., 29	2
Smith, Charles F.	porter-house, 30	3
Smith, Daniel S.	merchant, 29	1
Smith, Edwin	pilot, 30	2
Smith, H.H.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Haziel	carpenter, 29	4
Smith, John L.	hatter, 28	4
Smith, Joseph P.	grocer, 29	3
Smith & Lauren Co.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Lawrence	sailmaker, 29	4
Smith, Morgan L.	leather-store, 30	3
Smith, Richard L.	drygoods, 29	3
Smith, Sidney	Legible, not in	
Smith, Thomas T.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Walter M.	No occupation	
Smith, William A.	trunk maker, 29	4
Smith, William W.	No occupation	
Sparks, Samuel	grocer, 29	3
Sparrow, George	milkman, 29	6
Spence, David B.	Legible, not in	
Spencer, Joseph	city-sealer, 29	2
Spicer, Henry C.	iron chest factory, 30	4
Staats, Peter	Legible, not in	
Stearns, Charles	painter, 29	4
Stearns, Henry K.	say, 30	6
Stebbins, Edwin	jeweller, 29	4
Stephens, Richard	Legible, not in	
Stewart, Alexander L.	No occupation	
Stone, William L.	editor, Commercial Advertiser, 29	2
Stout, Richard	currier, 29	4
Stout, Thomas	No occupation	
Strong, Duncan	baker, 29	4
Stuyvesant, Moses S.	comb store, 28	3
Sullivan, Michael	No occupation	
Supp, Charles M.	Legible, not in	
Sutton, Benjamin	No occupation	
Sutton, Jacob H.	No occupation	
Suydam, Edmond	Legible, not in	
Syms, Samuel	shoe store, 29	3
Taber, Smith	Legible, not in	
Talbot, Jesse	asst. secy. American Tract Society, 29	2
Tallman, George	Legible, not in	
Taylor, George W.	carpenter, 29	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Taylor, H.J.	Legible, not in	
Taylor, John T.	Legible, not in	
Taylor, Richard	grocer, 29	3
Teller, Benjamin	saddler, 30	4
Teller, Rem R.	tailor, 29	4
Thayer, F.A.	Legible, not in	
Thayer, Joseph	merchant, 28	1
Thayre, Liberes	shoestore, 29	3
Theall, Isaac	carver, 30	4
Theall, Robert	cartman, 28	5
Thomas, Calvin F.S.	printer, 30	4
Thomas, John R.	news collector, 29	2
Thomas, Nathaniel	shoemaker, 28	4
Thomas, Robert	drygoods, 28	3
Thompson, Francis	merchant, 29	1
Thompson, Samuel C.	saddler, 29	4
Thorburn, James	porter N.Y. bank, 29	5
Thorburn, Robert	Legible, not in	
Thorn, Julius	grocer, 30	3
Thorp, Henry Cutter	physician, 29	2
Tibbit, Henry W.	Legible, not in	
Tibbits, John (signed twice)	merchant, 30	1
Tilford, William	hairdresser, 29	4
Tilton, George	shipcarpenter, 29	4
Timson, John W.	combmaker, 29	4
Tinker, Jonathan	Legible, not in	
Titus, Peter S.	crockery-merchant, 29	1
Titus, Samuel	No occupation	
Titus, William C. & J.	finding-store, 29	3
Titus, William L.	merchant, 29	1
Tompkins, Nehemiah U.	physician, 29	2
Toohey, Michael	printer, 29 T	4
Torrey, Edward R.	Legible, not in	
Townsend, Samuel	No occupation	
Tracy, John	tailor, 29	4
Trimble, Arthur	cartman, 28	5
Trotter, Charles	morocco manufacturer, 29	4
Tucker, Joseph A.	shoemaker, 29	4
Turnbull, Andrew E.	carpenter, 29	4
Turnbull, Thomas	drygoods, 29	3
Turner, Thomas	baker, 29	4
Tuthill, Daniel L.	hatter, 30	4
Tuthill, James M.	accountant, 30	2
Tuthill, Samuel	shipcarpenter, 29	4
Tytler, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Underhill, Abraham S.	No occupation	
Underhill, Adonijah J.	crockery, 29	3
Underhill, Charles	No occupation	
Underhill, Ira B.	drygoods, 29	3
Underhill, Joshua S.&Co.	drygoods, 29	3

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Underhill, Lindley	Legible, not in	
Underhill, Nicholas	Legible, not in	
Underhill, Richard T.	M. D., 29	2
Underhill, Samuel	carter, 30	5
Underhill, Samuel B.	Legible, not in	
Underhill, Thomas	smoke-house, 29	3
Upson, Hiram	druggist, 29	3
Upson, Theron	tailor, 29	4
Valentine, Richard	shoemaker, 29	4
Valentine, Robert	Legible, not in	
Valentine, Stephen	flour-merchant, 29	1
Vanderprone, John A.	Legible, not in	
Vanhorn, Daniel	tailor, 28	4
Vanness, Henry G.	carpenter, 30	4
Vannostrand, John	cartman, 29	5
Vanveghten & White	milliners, 30	4
Vanyorx, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Vermilye, William W.	printer, 29	4
Vickers, James	Legible, not in	
Vincent, Ezra	Legible, not in	
Wagstaff, E.	Legible, not in	
Wait, John	cartman, 29	5
Wallis, Robert	Legible, not in	
Walter, Ellwood	teacher, 29	2
Walters, Reuben	cartman, 28	5
Ward, Henry D.	editor, *Anti-Masonic Review*, 29	2
Ward, T. J.	Legible, not in	
Waring, Amos	shoemaker, 28	4
Waring, Lewis	baker, 30	4
Waring, William	merchant, 29	1
Waskley, E. S.	Legible, not in	
Watson, Thomas L.	block-maker, 29	4
Waugh, B.	Legible, not in	
Weaver, John	grocer, 29	3
Webb, Arthur	shoemaker, 29	4
Weeden, Charles	Legible, not in	
Weeks, Timothy	carter, 30	5
Weir, Richard	Legible, not in	
Welling, James	drygoods, 29	3
Wells, Alexander H.	Legible, not in	
Wells, Asa	grocer, 29	3
Wells, Charles	bookbinder, 29	4
Wessells, Peter	printer, 29	4
West, Uel	brassfounder, 29	4
Westray, John	tanner, 29	4
Wetmore, Erasmus D. (signed three times)	shoemaker, 30	4
Wheaton, P.	Legible, not in	
Wheeler, Henry T.	Legible, not in	
Wheeler, William F.	shoemaker, 29	4
White, Charles L.	druggist, 28	3

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
White, Jonathan R.	drygoods, 29	3
White, Nathan	pawnbroker, 29	3
White, Samuel B.	painter, 29	4
Whiteker, William M.	grocer, 29	3
Whiting, James R.	attorney & counselor, 29	2
Whiting, Seymour	tailor, 29	4
Whiting, William B.	lottery office, 29	2
Whitney, Eben	watchmaker, 28	4
Whitty, James	tinsmith, 29	4
Wickham, Henry W.	No occupation	
Wickham, J.W.	Legible, not in	
Wickham, Joseph P.	drygoods, 29	3
Wight, Andrew	drygoods, 29	3
Wilgus, A.W.	broker, 29	2
Wilkins, William	No occupation	
Wilkinson, John	combmaker, 29	4
Willets, Amos	merchant, 29	1
Willets, C.T.	Legible, not in	
Willets, Jacob H.	Legible, not in	
Willets, Joseph	flour merchant, 29	1
Willets, Robert R.	No occupation	
Willets, Stephen	merchant, 30	1
Williams, Owen	Legible, not in	
Williams, Roger	grocer, 29	3
Wills, Thomas	attorney & master in chancery, 29	2
Wilmarth, Philander C.	hatter, 29	4
Wilson, Daniel	carpenter, 29	4
Witherspoon, James	tailor & draper, 29	4
Wood, Daniel B.	No occupation	
Wood, E.W.	merchant-tailor, 29	4
Wood, Elkanah	vegetable medicines, 29	6
Wood, Isaac J.	grocer, 29	3
Wood, Thomas C.	Legible, not in	
Woodhull, William	grocer, 29	3
Woodward, James L.	Legible, not in	
Woodward, William	clerk, 29	2
Wooley S. & T.C.	tailors, 29	4
Woolley, Isaac M.	commission merchant, 29	1
Wray, Christopher	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Wright, Edward A.	merchant, 30	1
Wright, John B.	No occupation	
Wright, Jordan	No occupation	
Wright, Theodore S.	rev., 30	2
Wright, W.P.	Legible, not in	
Wyckoff, Ambrose S.	grocer, 30	3

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Allen, Henry
Allen, William
Anderson, J.W.
Anderson, John
Anderson, John
Anderson, John
Baker, Richard
Baker, Thomas
Baker, William
Banks, William
Bingham, Samuel
Board, David
Bogert, Peter
Boyle, James
Boyle, W.
Brady, John
Brooks, Henry
Brower, Abraham
Brown, H.
Brown, Joseph
Brown, Samuel
Brown, Samuel
Brown, Samuel
Brown, William
Brown, William
Brown, William
Carpenter, Isaac
Clark, Aaron
Clark, Aaron
Clarke, J.
Collins, Henry
Connolly, Patrick
Cox, George
Crawford, John
Cunningham, Thomas
Cunningham, William
Davis, James
Davis, John
Davis, William
Delafield, J.
Dougherty, James
Dougherty, John
Douglass, Joseph
Downing, Thomas
Duffy, Peter
Earl, John
Edwards, William
Evans, John
Evans, Robert
Field, John
Fox, Charles
Frost, William
Gilchrist, James
Grant, John
Hall, James
Hallock, G.
Hance, J.
Harper, John
Harris, Samuel
Hart, Henry
Hart, James
Haviland, C.
Hendrickson, W.
Hilton, John
Hinsdale, H.B.
Hyatt, Thomas
Jackson, Robert
Johnson, J.
Johnson, John B.
Johnson, Thomas
Johnson, William
Jones, John
Jones, Samuel
Jones, Thomas
Jones, William
Lane, Daniel
Lee, James
Lee, William
Lewis, E.T.
Lewis, Samuel
Lewis, Thomas
Lloyd, John
Lyon, Edward
McDonald, Alexander
McDonald, Alexander
McKee, Joseph
Macy, John C.
Marsh, Samuel
Marsh, Thomas
Mead, Nathaniel
Miller, James
Miller, William
Moore, William
Morgan, Charles
Morris, Edward
Murray, James
Odell, L.
Ostrander, Daniel
Palmer, William
Phillips, Robert
Platt, Epenetus
Ritter, Henry

UMI

Robertson, James
Robertson, John
Robins, John
Robinson, John
Rogers, David
Russell, John
Ryan, James
Scott, Henry
Scott, Thomas
Shannon, John
Sherwood, Isaac
Simmons, James
Smith, Benjamin
Smith, Charles
Smith, Charles
Smith, Charles G.
Smith, Cornelius
Smith, J.P.
Smith, James
Smith, John
Smith, John
Smith, John C.
Smith, Joseph
Smith, Joseph
Smith, Michael
Smith, Moses
Smith, R.
Smith, T.
Smith, William
Smith, William
Stephens, R.
Stewart, Robert
Strang, James
Sweeny, James
Taylor, A.
Taylor, Charles
Taylor, James
Thomas, Elias
Thompson, John
Thompson, Samuel
  (signed twice)
Thompson, Thomas
Thompson, Thomas
Tully, Francis
Tutle, Daniel
Underhill, Adonijah
Underhill, Adonijah
Underhill, D.
Underhill, Isaac
Underhill, Israel
Underhill, Joshua
Underhill, Stephen
Vanderbilt, Cornelius
Walker, William
Ward, Alexander
Watson, W.
Weeks, James
Weeks, James
Wheeler, John
White, Robert
Willets, Edmunds
Willets, Samuel
Williams, Peter
Wilson, Edward
Wilson, John
Wilson, John
Wilson, W.
Woodhull, J.
Woolley, John
Wright, Isaac
Young, Alexander
Young, J.
Young, Thomas

APPENDIX 6A

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 23, 1829

Summary of All Signers (41): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	21	51.2
Legible, found, no occupation listed	4	9.8
Legible, not in	5	12.2
Legible, too common	2	4.9
Illegible	9	22.
Total	41	100.1

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (21)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	2	9.5
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	5	23.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	2	9.5
Artisans	12	57.1
Laborers and Cartmen	0	0
Total	21	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
commission merchant	2	9.5
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
agent Jefferson Insurance Co.	1	4.8
broker	1	4.8
clerk	1	4.8
M. D.	1	4.8
teacher	1	4.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer	2	9.5

UMI

	Number	Percent
Artisans:		
cabinet-maker	4	19.0
baker	1	4.8
bookbinder	1	4.8
carpenter	1	4.8
carver	1	4.8
chocolate-manufacturer	1	4.8
hatter	1	4.8
tailor	1	4.8
watchmaker	1	4.8
Total	21	100.4

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR20A-G5.1, Drawer #275.

Note: Printed text. One duplicate signer. There was no date written on the back of this petition by the clerk in the House. It was, however, almost certainly referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia on February 23, 1829, since it was folded in with the large petition of that date with 1462 signers. The one duplicate signer had an illegible signature.

APPENDIX 6B

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 23, 1829

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Arnold, Richard H.	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Boylen, John	tailor, 29	4
Brower, William	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Carter, Galen	M.D., 29	2
Clohecy, J.P.	carpenter, 29	4
Corlies, Joseph	No occupation	
Cramsey, James	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Cramsey, William	cabinet-maker, 29	4
Disbrow, William D.	agent Jefferson Insurance Company, 29	2
Finn, John O.	teacher, 30	2
Garrett, A.	broker, 28	2
Ingalls, Moses K.	Legible, not in	
Irish, Henry	watchmaker, 29	4
Kimbark, Jeremiah	No occupation	
Marshall, Henry	baker, 29	4
Millikin, Thomas & Robert	carvers, 29	4
Morison, P.	Legible, not in	
Moses, D.M.	No occupation	
Mountfort, N.B. & Co.	commission merchant, 30	1
Philips, John D.	Legible, not in	
Poillon, Peter	chocolate manufacturer, 30	4
Porver, James A.	Legible, not in	
Robinson, Leonard	clerk, 29	2
Sands, Legron	grocer, 29	3
Seaman, Willett	No occupation	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Tannin, William	Legible, not in	
Teller, Pierre	hatter, 30	4
Thompson, Jesse	grocer, 29	3
Vanderzee, Walter	bookbinder, 28	4
Yeoman, Charles N.	commission merchant, 29	1

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Brown, John
Smith, Stephen

APPENDIX 7A

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 14, 1831

Summary of All Signers (57): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	21	36.8
Legible, found, no occupation listed	9	15.8
Legible, not in	16	28.1
Legible, too common	7	12.3
Illegible	4	7.0
Total	57	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (21)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	4	19.0
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	6	28.6
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	1	4.8
Artisans	8	38.1
Laborers and Cartmen	2	9.5
Other	0	0
Total	21	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
Merchant (3), silk goods (1)[a]	4	19.0
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
M. D.	2	9.5
editor, *Genius of Temperance*	2	9.5
attorney	1	4.8
teacher	1	4.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
druggist	1	4.8

	Number	Percent
Artisans:		
bookbinder	2	9.5
carpenter	1	4.8
hatter	1	4.8
japanner	1	4.8
jeweller	1	4.8
merchant-tailor	1	4.8
printer	1	4.8
Laborers and Cartmen:		
porter	1	4.8
clothes-dresser	1	4.8
Other:		
	0	0
Total	21	100.3

Source: Records of the National Archives, Library of Congress Collection of House of Representatives Documents, Box 56.

Note: Handwritten text. No duplicate signers.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listing would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

APPENDIX 7B

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on February 14, 1831

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Boch, William	Legible, not in	
Brewster, Joseph	hatter, 31	4
Cleveland, A.P.	Legible, not in	
Cooper, William H.	japanner, 32	4
Crandall, Phineas	ed., *Genius of Temperance*, 31	2
Dewey, Loring	No occupation	
Dowling, Edward	Legible, not in	
Downing, John C.	jeweller, 32	4
Edwards, Alfred	No occupation	
Fisher, Abijah	merchant, 31	1
Gibson, James R.	No occupation	
Goodell, William	ed., *Genius of Temperance*, 31	2
Goodwin, D.E.	Legible, not in	
Grimes, William	porter, 31	5
Haughton, William A.	Legible, not in	
Holbrook, Lowell	merchant, 31	1
Hunt, Seth B.	Legible, not in	
Jones, Marshall	No occupation	
Keeler, Charles	No occupation	
Knight, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Leland, Charles	Legible, not in	
Miller, Amos S.	M.D., 31	2
Nash, Alanson	attorney, 32	2
Nelson, Thomas S.	merchant, 31	1
Oakley, B.T.	Legible, not in	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Parmele, T.	Legible, not in	
Phelps, Samuel F.	Legible, not in	
Ralman, William	Legible, not in	
Requa, James B.	teacher, 31	2
Rich, L.P.	Legible, not in	
Riker, John C.	bookbinder, 31	4
Sexton, Joseph A.	Legible, not in	
Shaw, Latimer R.	No occupation	
Sheppard, George G.	clothes-dresser, 31	5
Skinner, Roger S.	No occupation	
Starr, Charles	bookbinder, 31	4
Stearns, John	M.D., 31	2
Tappan, Arthur & Co.	silk goods, 30	1
Tappan, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation	
Townsend, Robert Jr.	carpenter, 31	4
Vanvalkenburgh, James	printer, 31	4
Walker, Edward L. & Co.	druggists, 30	3
Whiting, W.	Legible, not in	
Whittemore, Henry S.	No occupation	
Winterton, William	merchant-tailor, 31	4

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Ayers, David
Fowler, James
Lewis, John
McDonald, William
Penny, William
Ray, Robert
Sherwood, William

APPENDIX 8A

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on January 27, 1834

Summary of All Signers (186): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	111	59.7
Legible, found, no occupation listed	20	10.8
Legible, not in	19	10.2
Legible, too common	22	11.8
Illegible	14	7.5
Total	186	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (111)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	31	27.9
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	39	35.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	19	17.1
Artisans	21	18.9
Laborers and Cartmen	1	.9
Other	0	0
Total	111	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (23), commission merchant (2) oil merchant (1), silk goods (1)[a]	27	24.3
President Atlantic Insurance Co. (1), V. P. Atlantic Insurance Co. (1), Secretary and Surv. Washington Insurance Co. (1)[b]	3	2.7
auctioneer	1	.9

UMI

Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:	Number	Percent
attorney (3), attorney and counselor (2), attorney and solicitor (2), counselor (2)	9	8.1
agent American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions (1), Asst. Secretary Presbyterian Education Society (1), Foreign Secretary Presbyterian Education Society (1), Corresp. Secretary American Home Mission Society (1), Deputy American Tract Society (1), Secretary A. S. C. (1)[c]	6	5.4
editor (4)[d], editor, New York American (1), New York Observer (1)	6	5.4
M. D. (4), M. D. and surgeon (2)	6	5.4
reverend	3	2.7
broker	2	1.8
at the Academy of Arts	1	.9
agent lime company	1	.9
inspector Union Insurance Co.	1	.9
secretary	1	.9
teacher	1	.9
President Columbia College	1	.9
Vice-Chancellor	1	.9
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
bookstore (2), books and stationery (1), Methodist bookstore and agent for the Christian Advocate and Journal (1)	4	3.6
drygoods	3	2.7
boardinghouse	1	.9
chinastore	1	.9
fancygoods	1	.9
fringe and lace store, importer of German and French goods	1	.9
grocer	1	.9
hardware	1	.9
leather store	1	.9
looking glasses	1	.9
music store and consul for Baden	1	.9
paperstore	1	.9
plasterdealer	1	.9
victualler	1	.9
Artisans:		
merchant tailor (2), tailor (1)	3	2.7
printer (2), printer and books (1)	3	2.7
watchmaker	3	2.7
carpenter	2	1.8
engraver	1	.9

UMI

	Number	Percent
hatter	1	.9
hosier	1	.9
mason	1	.9
moroccodresser	1	.9
painter	1	.9
saddler	1	.9
shoemaker	1	.9
stockmaker	1	.9
typecutter	1	.9
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	1	.9
Total	111	99.9

Source: Records of the National Archives, Library of Congress Collection of House of Representatives Documents, Box #48.

Note: Handwritten text. No duplicate signers.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listimg would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

[b] These men were placed here because of their high status and importance within the city's economy, although they are not merchants. Insurance company leaders did not sign any other antislavery petition analyzed here. (In this era secretaries of such companies were usually among the leadership, not clerical workers.) A few leaders of insurance companies did sign the 1827 Sunday-mail petition.

[c] This last man is Elizur Wright, Jr., at this time secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Perhaps there was a typographical error in the abbrevation. Two men in this whole group associated with mission and benevolent societies were also ministers.

[d] Included in this number are Joshua Leavitt of the New York Evangelist, David Hale of the Journal of Commerce, and William Goodell of the Genius of Temperance. They were only listed as editors in the Directories, however.

APPENDIX 8B

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives on January 27, 1834

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Albers, John H.	fringe & lace store, & importer of German & French goods, 34	3
Ayres, James B.	saddler, 34	4
Banks, G.R.	Legible, not in	
Barnard, Samuel	rev., 34	2
Beach, William	No occupation	
Beale, Joseph H.	No occupation	
Bell, D.A.	Legible, not in	
Benedict, Samuel W.	watchmaker, 34	4
Bicker, Walter	broker, 34	2
Blackwell, Robert M.	No occupation	
Blatchford, E.H.	attorney, 34	2
Blatchford, Samuel M.	merchant, 34	1
Bowman, Samuel S.	No occupation	
Bowne, Thomas P.	auctioneer, 34	1
Bradbury, Samual	merchant, 34	1
Brewster, D.	Legible, not in	
Byers, John	Legible, not in	
Carlton, Henry	plasterdealer, 34	3
Case, Robert L.	No occupation	
Chambers, Miles	merchant tailor, 34	4
Chauncey, William	merchant, 34	1
Cheever, rev. Ebenezer	Foreign Secretary, Presbyterian Education 33 Society	2
Cleaveland, John	attorney, 34	2
Collins, Charles	merchant, 34	1
Collins, Stacy B.	paperstore, 34	3
Coolidge, William T. & Co.	books & stationary, 34	3

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Corning, Edward	No occupation	
Corning, Jaspar	merchant, 34	1
Cox, Abraham L.	M.D. & surgeon, 34	2
Crane, Achilles R.	boardinghouse, 34	3
Cromwell, Charles T.	attorney & solicitor, 34	2
Cromwell, Daniel	carpenter, 34	4
Cruger, Jefferson	Legible, not in	
Dando, Stephen	Methodist bookstore & agents for the Christian Advocate & Journal, 34	3
Darling, Charles C.	No occupation	
Darling, William S.	No occupation	
Davenport, Dennis	merchant, 34	1
Day, Mahlon	printer & books, 34	4
Denison, Charles W.	Legible, not in	
Dewey, Loring D.	No occupation	
Draz, Francis	fancygoods, 34	3
Dudley, William E.	lime co. agent, 33	2
Duers, William A.	pres. Columbia College, 34	2
Edwards, Alfred	merchant, 34	1
Elmendorf, Jacob B.	painter, 34	4
Fanning, James	carpenter, 34	4
Fanshaw, Charles	stockmaker, 34	4
Fellows, John	No occupation	
Fisher, Abijah	merchant, 34	1
Folsom, L.D.	Legible, not in	
Ford, S.B.	Legible, not in	
Foster, George C.	No occupation	
Gibson, James R.	No occupation	
Goodell, William	editor, 33	2
Green, Richard S.	hosier, 33	4
Green, Timothy R.	attorney, 34	2
Green, William Jr.	merchant, 34	1
Hale, David	editor, 34	2
Hale, Josiah L.	pres. Atl. Ins. Co., 34	1
Hallock, Gerard	editor, 34	2
Halsted, William M.	merchant, 34	1
Harrison, David R.	engraver, 34	4
Hartshorne, Samuel H.	Legible, not in	
Hatfield, Sampson	tailor, 34	4
Havens, Rensselaer	merchant, 33	1
Holbrook, Lowell & Co.	merchants, 34	1
Holmes, Curtis	inspector, Union Ins. Co., 34	2
Hopper, Isaac T.	bookstore, 34	3
Hotaling, Samuel	oil merchant, 34	1
Hoyer, Charles F.	music store & consul for Baden, 34	3
Hussey, George	No occupation	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Ives, Ansel W.	M.D., 34	2
Jay, Peter A.	attorney & counselor, 34	2
Jones, Walter R.	v.p. Atlantic Ins. Co., 34	1
Kelley, Samuel	drygoods, 34	3
Kellogg, Joseph W.	hatter, 34	4
Kellogg, S. Wilson	M.D., 34	2
Ketcham, James	watchmaker, 34	4
King, Charles	editor, New York American, 34	2
Knower, Timothy	Legible, not in	
Lake, Daniel	M.D., 34	2
Leavitt, John W.	merchant, 34	1
Leavitt, Joshua	editor, 34	2
Leggett, Thomas Jr.	merchant, 34	1
McCormick, Richard C.	secretary, 34	2
McCoun, William T.	vice-chancellor, 33	2
McGregor, Darling & Co.	merchants, 33	1
McKeen, Joseph	teacher, 34	2
Maxwell, Hugh	attorney & counselor, 34	2
Miller, Samuel	watchmaker, 34	4
Mills, Charles L.	Legible, not in	
Moore, J.K.	bookstore, 34	3
Morse, Richard C.	New York Observer, 34	2
Mott, Valentine	M.D. & surgeon, 34	2
Munn, Hugh	Legible, not in	
Nelson, Thomas S.	merchant, 34	1
Niles, William W.	rev., 34	2
Oakley, Charles S.	No occupation	
Oakley, Timothy Jr.	drygoods, 34	3
Owen, John J.	rev., asst. secy. Presbyterian Education Society, 34	2
Page, Harlan	deputy American Tract Society, 34	2
Palmer, Courtlandt	hardware, 34	3
Paton, James	drygoods, 34	3
Patton, William	rev., 34	2
Perit, Pelatiah	No occupation	
Peters, Absalom	corr. secy. American Home Missionary Society, 34	2
Piercy, Henry R.	printer, 34	4
Porter, Edmund J.	grocer, 34	3
Prince, Charles	No occupation	
Rankin, John	merchant, 34	1
Reddin, William S.	looking glasses, 34	3
Riley, Robert	commission merchant, 34	1

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Riley, William P.	mason, 34	4
Robinson, James F.	attorney & solicitor, 34	2
Rolfe, William P.	Legible, not in	
Roome, Edward	No occupation	
Schieffelin, H.M.	commission merchant, 33	1
Scott, George P. & Co.	printers, 34	4
Sebring, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Sedgwick, Roderick	merchant, 34	1
Sherwood, Benjamin	victualler, 34	3
Shotwell, William Jr.	broker, 34	2
Smith, Morgan L.	leather store, 34	3
Staples, Seth P.	counselor, 34	2
Swayne, Doct. Joseph	Legible, not in	
Talbot, Jesse	agent, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 35	2
Tallmadge, James	counselor, 34	2
Tappan, Arthur	silkgoods, 34	1
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation	
Tew, George C.	Legible, not in	
Tew, Latham T.	Legible, not in	
Tomlinson, William A.	merchant, 34	1
Trimble, George T.	merchant, 34	1
Trumbull, John	at the academy of arts, 34	2
Underhill, Richard T.	M.D., 34	2
Vannostrand, Daniel	carter, 34	5
VanPelt, John	merchant, 34	1
Walker, Horatio N.	merchant, 34	1
Walsh, John H.	Legible, not in	
Wardell, John N.	No occupation	
Waterbury, Stephen	shoemaker, 34	4
Watrous, Elias B.	chinastore, 34	3
Wells, Darius	typecutter, 34	4
West, John E.	secy. & surv. Wash. Ins. Co., 34	1
Williams, Oliver	moroccodresser, 34	4
Williams, Thomas S.	merchant, 34	1
Windmuller, Solomon	No occupation	
Winterton, William	merchant tailor, 34	4
Wood, S.S.	Legible, not in	
Wright, Elizur	secy., A.S.C., 34	2

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Allen, Joseph
Anderson, John
Bolton, C.
Booth, William

Brown, Samuel
Dickinson, A.
Hall, Charles
Holmes, O.
Jones, William
Lambert, Edward A.
Lent, A.
Munson, John
Smith, Henry
Stevens, Samuel
Underhill, W.
Walker, Joseph
Walker, Robert
Walker, William
Wheelwright, John
White, Henry
Wood, William
Wright, James

APPENDIX 9A

Petition requesting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 2, 1835

Summary of All Signers (255): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	127	49.8
Legible, found, no occupation listed	15	5.9
Legible, not in	40	15.7
Legible, too common	24	9.4
Illegible	49	19.2
Total	255	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (127)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	5	3.9
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	27	21.3
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	31	24.4
Artisans	58	45.7
Laborers and Cartmen	4	3.1
Other	2	1.6
Total	127	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (4), flour merchant (1)	5	3.9
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
editor (3), editor *Commercial Advertiser* (1), *Commercial Advertiser* (1), *New York Observer* (1)	6	4.7
attorney and counselor (2), attorney (1), counselor (1)	4	3.1
reverend	3	2.4

	Number	Percent
director American Tract Society (1), agent American Anti-Slavery Society (1), corr. sec. American Bible Society (1)	3	2.4
M. D. (2), botanic physician (1)	3	2.4
accountant	1	.8
agent	1	.8
clerk	1	.8
constable	1	.8
inspector of beef	1	.8
intelligence-office	1	.8
professor of music	1	.8
teacher of navigation	1	.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
leatherstore	6	4.7
grocer	5	3.9
bookseller (2), bookstore (1), books (1)	4	3.1
clothier	2	1.6
druggist	2	1.6
flourstore	2	1.6
shoestore	2	1.6
chinastore	1	.8
crockery	1	.8
drygoods	1	.8
piehouse	1	.8
segars	1	.8
stationer	1	.8
stovefoundry	1	.8
victualler	1	.8
Artisans:		
printer (6), printer and books (1)	7	5.5
bookbinder	6	4.7
shoemaker (5), bootmaker (1)	6	4.7
watchmaker	6	4.7
carpenter	4	3.1
barber	2	1.6
cabinet maker	2	1.6
hatter	2	1.6
moroccodresser	2	1.6
baker	1	.8
butcher	1	.8
chairmaker	1	.8
cooper	1	.8
coppersmith	1	.8
corkcutter	1	.8
currier	1	.8
engineer	1	.8
gratemaker	1	.8
machinist	1	.8
manufacturer	1	.8
pianomaker	1	.8

	Number	Percent
pocketbook maker	1	.8
saddler	1	.8
sailmaker	1	.8
signpainter	1	.8
stock-manufacturer	1	.8
tailor	1	.8
tallow-chandlers	1	.8
tinsmith	1	.8
upholsterer	1	.8
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	3	2.4
mariner	1	.8
Other:		
melting-house	1	.8
sexton	1	.8
Total	127	100.5

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR23A-H1.2.

Note: Printed text. No duplicate signers.

APPENDIX 9B

Petition requesting the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 2, 1835

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Ackerman, John M.	carpenter, 36	4
Ackley, John A.	d. American Tract Society, 35	2
Badger, Barber	editor, 35	2
Bartlett, John	leatherstore, 35	3
Bartlett, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Barton, Charles	Legible, not in	
Beach, Chauncey E.	Legible, not in	
Beach, William	No occupation	
Beak, Henry	segars ("coloured"), 34	3
Benedict, Samuel W.	watchmaker, 35	4
Benoit, Louis	professor music, 34	2
Blackford, William H.	watchmaker, 35	4
Blain, William	Legible, not in	
Bogart, Henry	upholsterer, 35	4
Bowne, Norwood	No occupation	
Bowyer, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Bradford, Richard	bookbinder, 35	4
Braine, Daniel	morocco dresser, 35	4
Brewer, John	butcher, 35	4
Brigham, Rev. John C.	corr. secy. American Bible Society, 35	2
Brinckerhoff, Walter	bookbinder, 35	4
Buck, Gurdon Jr.	M.D., 34	2
Burgy, David T.	Legible, not in	
Bussing, Thomas	pocketbook maker, 34	4
Byron, William H.	No occupation	
Caley, Charles	Legible, not in	
Carpenter, Joseph	flour merchant, 35	1
Cavendish, Joseph	coppersmith, 35	4

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Chambers, Miles	tailor, 35	4
Chase, Henry	rev., 35	2
Clark, Stephen R.	engineer, 35	4
Colgate, William & Co.	tallowchandlers, 35	4
Collins, Charles	merchant, 35	1
Combes, Henry	gratemaker, 35	4
Cooledge, Daniel	bookseller, 35	3
Corse, Barney	No occupation	
Corse, Israel	leather store, 34	3
Corse, William	leatherstore, 35	3
Crane, John C.	shoestore, 35	3
Crosby, Charles C.P.	editor, 35	2
Cunningham, Andrew	mariner, 36	5
Dane, Thomas	No occupation	
Davis, Stephen	chairmaker, 34	4
Day, Mahlon	printer & books, 35	4
Decasse, Louis	merchant, 35	1
Delatour, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Ditchett, John	drygoods, 35	3
Doolittle, Adrastus	botanic physician, 35	2
Durell, Joseph G.	chinastore, 35	3
Eastmond, Benjamin	cabinetmaker, 34	4
Edwards, Ogden E.	leather store, 35	3
Falconer, Samuel	shoemaker, 35	4
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer, 35	4
Field, Richard	merchant, 35	1
Filmore, Charles	moroccodresser, 35	4
Fink, Philip	Legible, not in	
Fisher, Christopher	cooper, 35	4
Forbes, John	printer, 35	4
Giffin, Charles H.	leatherstore, 35	3
Going, Jonathan	rev., 34	2
Goodell, William	Legible, not in	
Gorum, George	shoemaker, 35	4
Hall, John B.	Commercial Advertiser, 35	2
Hanks, Jarvis F.	signpainter, 34	4
Hannah, George	hatter, 34	4
Hanrahan, James	Legible, not in	
Harris, John H.	hatter, 35	4
Hart, Moses	shoemaker, 35	4
Haven, John P.	bookseller, 35	3
Haviland, Charles E.	Legible, not in	
Hendrickson, Samuel	grocer, 35	3
Hicks, Robert	merchant, 35	1
Higgins, Thomas	shoemaker, 35	4
Hinsdale, Henry	flourstore, 35	3
Hollis, John	shoemaker, 35	4
Hollis, John Jr.	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hopper, Isaac T.	bookstore, 35	3
Howard, Leland	Legible, not in	
Hoyt, Seymour	watchmaker, 35	4
Irish, William L.	accountant, 35	2
Jackson, Solomon H.	printer, 35	4
Jennings, Samuel B.	printer, 35	4
Jewesson, Thomas	bookbinder, 35	4
Jewett, Joshua H.	No occupation	
Jocelyn, Simeon S.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Kemp, Edward	shoestore, 35	3
Ketcham, James	watchmaker, 35	4
King, Stephen	corkcutter, 35	4
Knight, Abraham	stovefound., 35	4
Knight, Abraham Jr.	Legible, not in	
Lamb, William	Legible, not in	
Lancaster, John	tinsmith, 35	4
Lawrence, Martin M.	watchmaker, 35	4
Leggett, Thomas H.	No occupation	
Lewis, Charles	machinist, 35	4
Lewis, David	cabinetmaker, 34	4
Lincoln, H.P.	carter, 36	5
Lyon, Henry M.	clothier, 35	3
Lyons, Abraham	carpenter, 35	4
McLean, Edward	manufacturer, 35	4
Marsh, Evert	currier, 35	4
Marx, E.	Legible, not in	
Matzel, H.	Legible, not in	
Maxwell, John B.	sailmaker, 35	4
Mead, Nathaniel	saddler, 35	4
Monahan, H.	Legible, not in	
Moore, J.K.	books, 35	3
Moore, Jonathan	clerk, 35	2
Morse, Richard C.	New York Observer, 35	2
Morse, Sidney E. & Co.	editors, 35	2
Mott, Richard	attorney & counselor, 35	2
Mudge, Charles C.	stock-manufacturer, 35	4
Newcome, Robert T.	Legible, not in	
Nichols, William H.	barber, 35	4
Offen, Benjamin	bootmaker, 36	4
Olney, Peleg	carpenter, 35	4
Osborne, William	melting-house, 36	6
Owen, Horton	carter, 34	5
Peirce, Isaac	intelligence-officer, 35	2
Pickering, Joseph S.	attorney & counselor, 36	2
Piercy, Henry R.	printer, 35	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Pinnell, P.	Legible, not in	
Plet, Anastus	barber ("coloured"), 35	4
Plet, John	Legible, not in	
Power, E.A.W.	Legible, not in	
Prime, Henry R.	Legible, not in	
Proudfoot, Andrew	baker, 34	4
Quackenboss, Aug.	Legible, not in	
Radcliff, Edward	attorney, 35	2
Reed, John	grocer, 35	3
Reese, David M.	M.D., 35	2
Relyea, Peter	agent, 36	2
Ripley, Hezekiah W.	No occupation	
Robertson, Oliver	sexton, 35	6
Savidge, William	bookbinder, 35	4
Seaman, Andreas	carter, 35	5
Shattin, R.M.	Legible, not in	
Sinclair, W. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Small, Charles	stationer, 35	4
Smull, Thomas	leather store, 34	3
Sommers, Charles G.	rev., 35	2
Sparks, John R.	No occupation	
Spencer, Joseph	No occupation	
Spencer, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Stone, William L.	editor Commercial Advertiser, 35	2
Stout, Thomas	No occupation	
Summers, James	bookbinder, 34	4
Taylor, John G.	clothier, 35	3
Theall, Abraham	grocer, 35	3
Thomas, Griffith	Legible, not in	
Thomas, P.J.	Legible, not in	
Thorne, Jonathan	No occupation	
Tillou, Wesley	Legible, not in	
Tompkins, Eliab H.	No occupation	
Topping, Abraham M.	grocer, 36	3
Townsend, James B.	druggist, 35	3
Townsend, Walter B.	druggist, 35	3
Trail, Conrad R.	bookbinder, 35	4
Tubby, John	carpenter, 35	4
Tubby, John B.	Legible, not in	
Underhill, Ira B.	flourstore, 35	3
Vail, Robert	Legible, not in	
Vale, Gilbert	teacher of navigation, 35	2
Vale, Gilbert Jr.	printer, 36	4
Vanraenslaer, Thomas	victualler("coloured"), 35	4
Vanvalkenburgh, James	grocer, 35	3
Wale, William	pianomaker, 35	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Walter, Ellwood	Legible, not in	
Wheeler, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Wheeler, Jacob D.	counselor, 35	2
Whitney, Eben	watchmaker, 35	4
Wilbur, Jeremiah	Legible, not in	
Wilder, Samson V.S.	No occupation	
Willets, Edmund & Co.	crockery, 35	3
Willets, Henry	Legible, not in	
Williams, Ranson G.	publishing agent American Anti-Slavery Society, 35	2
Wilson, Andrew	inspector beef, 35	2
Wintringham, John	constable, 35	2
Wood, Aaron	piehouse, 35	3
Woods, Cornelius V.	Legible, not in	
Woods, John	No occupation	

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Allen, Thomas
Brady, John
Brown, John
Brown, Samuel
Coolidge, William
Evans, John
Fisher, William
Flinn, J.
Hall, Thomas
Hill, David
Lambert, Edward A.
Lister, J.
Miles, William
Miller, James
Moore, James
Scott, Thomas
Sherwood, Isaac
Smith, James
Stone, W.
Vannostrand, D.
Weller, John
Wheelwright, John
Wood, Henry
Wood, Samuel

APPENDIX 10A

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, dated February 29, 1836 in the House of Representatives

Summary of All Signers (328): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	177	54.
Legible, found, no occupation listed	21	6.4
Legible, not in	70	21.3
Legible, too common	37	11.3
Illegible	23	7.
Total	328	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (177)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	13	7.3
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	29	16.4
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	56	31.6
Artisans	64	36.2
Laborers and Cartmen	10	5.6
Other	5	2.8
Total	177	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (11), flour merchant (1)	12	6.7
auctioneer	1	.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers and Government Officials:		
reverend	6	3.4
M. D. (4), physician (1)	5	2.8
teacher (2), music teacher (1), teacher of navigation (1)	4	2.3
clerk	3	1.7
broker	2	1.1
attorney and counselor	1	.6

	Number	Percent
accountant	1	.6
agent	1	.6
dentist	1	.6
inspector of beef	1	.6
musician	1	.6
editor New York *Daily Advertiser*	1	.6
professor of music	1	.6
secretary	1	.6
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	15	8.5
grocer	10	5.6
porterhouse (3), portervault (1)	4	2.3
clothier	3	1.7
confectioner	3	1.7
druggist	3	1.7
bookseller (1), bookstore (1)	2	1.1
fruits	2	1.1
watchcases	2	1.1
boardinghouse	1	.6
boots	1	.6
butter store	1	.6
fancystore	1	.6
hats	1	.6
leather	1	.6
mahogany-yard	1	.6
prints	1	.6
shoes	1	.6
stoneware	1	.6
tobacconist	1	.6
victualler	1	.6
Artisans:		
shoemaker	9	5.
baker	6	3.4
tailor (4), merchant tailor (2)	6	3.4
carpenter	5	2.8
printer	5	2.8
hatter	3	1.7
painter	3	1.7
bookbinder	2	1.1
engraver (1), wood engraver (1)	2	1.1
mason	2	1.1
watchmaker (1), clock and watchmaker (1)	2	1.1
account-book manufacturer and stationer	1	.6
brassfounder	1	.6
builder	1	.6
cabinetmaker	1	.6
chairmaker	1	.6

	Number	Percent
coach-maker	1	.6
gold-watch-dial manufacturer	1	.6
hosier	1	.6
lastmaker	1	.6
miniaturepainter	1	.6
piano maker	1	.6
saddler	1	.6
sailmaker	1	.6
shipjoiner	1	.6
signpainter	1	.6
silversmith	1	.6
smith	1	.6
stonecutter	1	.6
tinsmith	1	.6
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter (5), water carter (1)	6	3.4
bootpolisher	1	.6
leghorn hat presser	1	.6
paper ruler	1	.6
presser	1	.6
Other:		
fisherman	2	1.1
nurseryman	1	.6
segar boxes	1	.6
well-sinker	1	.6
Total	177	100.7

Source: Records of the National Archives, Library of Congress Collection of House of Representatives Documents, Box #47.

Note: Printed text. Five duplicate signers. On the great majority of petitions examined here the clerk in the House wrote a date on the back next to which is usually "referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia" or "to lie." Since this petition has only the date, its fate in the House is not known. The gag resolution was passed in May. In addition, since the number written on the back of this petition was "625 citizens of New York City", part of it must be missing; only 328 signers are on the remaining petition.

APPENDIX 10B

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, dated February 29, 1836, in the House of Representatives

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Addington, William R.	clerk, 37	2
Alexander, George	shoemaker, 35	4
Archer, Ezekiel	No occupation	
Axford, John	printer, 37	4
Ayers, T.H.	Legible, not in	
Backus, William	carpenter, 36	4
Baldwin, Charles P.	clothier, 37	3
Baldwin, Ezra Jr.	Legible, not in	
Baldwin, George D.	merchant, 36	1
Baldwin, William H.	Legible, not in	
Ball, A.S.	M.D., 36	2
Barker, George R.	broker, 36	2
Barnes, Charles L.	watchcases, 36	3
Barrows, Elijah P.	No occupation	
Bartholomew, Frederick H.	No occupation	
Bates, Edward S.	drygoods, 37	3
Beeching, George	smith, 36	4
Beeching, T.	Legible, not in	
Beetham, W.T.	Legible, not in	
Benedict, Samuel W.	watchmaker, 35	4
Berrian, Edward	Legible, not in	
Birdsall, Henry	grocer, 36	3
Birdsall, James F.	grocer, 36	3
Bliss, William M. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Bokee, Abraham	No occupation	
Booth, Edwin	Legible, not in	
Boughton, Peter	Legible, not in	
Bourne, George	rev., 37	2
Bouton, Sands	Legible, not in	
Brewster, Joseph	hatter, 36	4

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Brewster, Silas W.	Legible, not in	
Briggs, David	merchant, 36	1
Buckmaster, Thomas O.	saddler, 36	4
Burdell, John	dentist, 36	2
Burdett, F. Garretson	No occupation	
Canfield, Philemon	mason, 36	4
Cavan, William	drygoods, 36	3
Chambers, Miles	tailor, 36	4
Chapman, Henry E.	segar boxes, 37	6
Chase, Henry	rev., 36	2
Chew, Anthony S.	No occupation	
Child, George	grocer, 36	3
Child, John P.	Legible, not in	
Church, James C.	importer of burr stones & dealer in stoneware, 36	3
Churchill, William H.	Legible, not in	
Clapp, John	flour merchant, 35	1
Clark, C.H.	Legible, not in	
Clark, Rev. Daniel Jr.	rev., 36	2
Clark, John W.	shipjoiner, 36	4
Clark, Matthias	drygoods, 36	3
Cochran, John	cabinetmaker, 36	4
Colton & Jenkins	bookbinders, 36	4
Commerford, John	chairmaker, 36	4
Coolidge & Lambert (signed twice)	account-book manufacturers & stationers, 36	4
Cooper, Jacob	stonecutter, 36	4
Copp, W.L.	Legible, not in	
Cragin, George	agent, 36	2
Crain, Achilles R.	No occupation	
Crane, John C.	shoes, 36	3
Crane, Samuel H.	carter, 36	5
Cropper, Vincent	carpenter, 36	4
Dayton, William P.	drygoods, 36	3
Demilt, Isaac	No occupation	
Dickson, John P.	drygoods, 36	3
Dimond, Isaac M.	silversmith, 36	4
Ditto, Joseph	carpenter, 36	4
Dodge, Titus E.	Legible, not in	
Doremus, Thomas S.	grocer, 36	3
Dorr, William S.	printer, 36	4
Downs, Henry S.	M.D., 36	2
Drake, John	No occupation	
Drake, John H.	clerk, 36	2
Duggan, Jeremiah	grocer, 36	3
Dupont, Gideon	lastmaker, 36	4
Dupont, John H.	shoemaker, 36	4
Elmendorf, Jacob B.	painter, 36	4
Ely, H.G.	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Erskine, John	Legible, not in	
Fairbanks, Ransom A.	music teacher, 36	2
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer, 36	4
Farquhar, James	Legible, not in	
Farr, James W. (signed twice)	drygoods, 37	3
Fellows, John	No occupation	
Floy, Michael	nurseryman, 36	6
Fotsom, Lewis D.	Legible, not in	
Fountain, Jotham S.&Co.	merchants, 36	1
Frost, Stoddard J.	baker, 37	4
Fulton, James	painter, 36	4
Gerard, George W.	No occupation	
Glancey, John	carter, 35	5
Gonzales, George	Legible, not in	
Goodwin, William	boardinghouse, 36	3
Graham, Francis P.	shoemaker ("coloured"), 36	4
Gray, John A.C.	drygoods, 36	3
Green, Lewis	Legible, not in	
Green, William Jr.	merchant, 36	1
Griffith, Charles	drygoods, 36	3
Gustin, John	butter store, 35	3
Gustin, John A.	Legible, not in	
Hacker, Edward	Legible, not in	
Hacker, Hoystead	signpainter, 35	4
Haff, John	grocer, 36	3
Haggarty, David John	Legible, not in	
Hale, William C.	mason, 36	4
Halliday, Samuel B.	No occupation	
Hallock, A.B.	Legible, not in	
Hallock, Allen C.	druggist, 36	3
Harris, Edwin	Legible, not in	
Harris, Zina H.	M.D., 36	2
Hatt, George	shoemaker, 36	4
Hatt, Joel & George	shoemakers, 35	4
Hatt, Josiah	Legible, not in	
Heath, Samuel	drygoods, 36	3
Hobbs, Jonas	Legible, not in	
Holdredge, William	merchant, 36	1
Howe, Simon P.	Legible, not in	
Hullis, John	Legible, not in	
Hurlbut, D.L.	Legible, not in	
Jackson, Luther	teacher, 36	2
Jarman, Alvah	merchant tailor, 36	4
Jay, William	Legible, not in	
Jenkins, Charles	bookbinder, 37	4
Jinnings, Thomas L.	clothier, 36	3
Jocelyn, Simeon S.	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Jones, Darius E.	musician, 37	2
Judson, Isaac Nichols	clothier, 36	3
Kellog, Charles H.	No occupation	
Kennedy, Delancy	Legible, not in	
Kent, Gabriel	Legible, not in	
Knapp, Augustus R.	physician, 35	2
Knapp, George H.	Legible, not in	
Knapp, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Lambden, Edward	baker, 35	4
Lancaster, John	tinsmith, 36	4
Lawrie, Alexander	merchant, 37	1
Leake, Hewlett P. & Co.	leather, 36	3
Lillie, John	Legible, not in	
Little, George D.	No occupation	
Lloyd, John	merchant, 36	1
Lobdell, Jerome B.	printer, 36	4
Lockstand, James	baker, 36	4
Lockstand, John	baker, 36	4
Lord, Charles A.	bookseller, 36	3
Losee, Hervey	drygoods, 36	3
Losey, William	portervault, 36	3
Low, Joseph	porterhouse, 36	3
Lucas, Archibald	grocer, 37	3
Ludlow, Rev. Henry G.	rev., 36	2
M'Cormick, Richard C.	secy., 36	2
McGee, Robert	shoemaker, 36	4
McGarth, John	porterhouse, 35	3
Marquand, Josiah P.	No occupation	
Mathews, Ephraim	tailor, 35	4
Megie, Daniel E.	teacher, 36	2
Megie, William Y.	Legible, not in	
Metford, Francis	clerk, 37	2
Miller, Isaac	miniaturepainter, 36	4
Miller, James M.	auctioneer, 36	1
Mills, James B.	piano maker, 36	4
Mills, John P.	Legible, not in	
Moore, David B.	accountant, 36	2
Morris, Charles	tailor, 36	4
Mott, Ebenezer	fisherman, 36	6
Mulford, Jacob S.	Legible, not in	
Mullen, William J.	gold watch dial manufacturer, 36	4
Nafis, Nehemiah C.	bookstore, 36	3
Olcott, Charles M.	druggist, 37	3
Palmer, William Jr.	hatter, 36	4
Parker, Zebediah	water carter, 36	5
Parton, Alfred	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Peck, E.A.	Legible, not in	
Peck, John B.	hatter, 36	4
Peet, Frederick T. & Co.	merchants, 36	1
Pettit, Robert	porterhouse, 36	3
Piercy, Albert J.	rev., 37	2
Pierson, Benjamin B.	carpenter, 35	4
Pillow, William H.	leghorn hat presser, 36	5
Pitts, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Potter, John W.	watchcases, 36	3
Potter, Samuel S.	brassfounder, 35	4
Powell, Henry	carter, 37	5
Prall, J.P.	Legible, not in	
Price, James B.	professor music, 35	2
Pyne, James A.	prints, 36	4
Pyatt, Francis	shoemaker, 36	4
Quereau, Abraham	Legible, not in	
Quereau, Francis	Legible, not in	
Quereau, John A.	Legible, not in	
Rankin, John	merchant, 36	1
Raworth, Morris	hosier, 36	4
Raymond, Samuel W.	baker, 36	4
Read, Wilson	drygoods, 35	3
Richards, Robert	painter, 35	4
Richardson, James	bootpolisher, 35	5
Richardson, John W.	No occupation	
Riddle, Charles	Legible, not in	
Ring, William	Legible, not in	
Ritter, Thomas	M.D., 36	2
Roberts, Charles	grocer, 36	3
Robertson, Daniel A.	tobacconist, 35	3
Robinson, James F. (signed twice)	attorney & counselor, 36	2
Ross, Charles	baker, 36	4
Ross, Thomas	fisherman, 36	6
Ross, William S.	coach-maker, 36	4
Roy, David	Legible, not in	
Rumsey, Aaron B.	fruits, 36	3
Rumsey, Thomas	grocer, 36	3
Russell, Samuel Jr.	Legible, not in	
Salter, J.D.B.	Legible, not in	
Sanger, Joseph T.	fancystore, 37	3
Savage, Andrew D.	drygoods, 36	3
Sayre, Baxter	tailor, 36	4
Schenck, David	boots, 36	3
Schriden, Henry	carpenter, 36	4
Scott, Alexander Mc L. & Co.	drygoods, 36	3
Scott, John F.	drygoods, 36	3
Scott, William H.	well-sinker, 36	6

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Scribner, John	carter, 35	5
Shardlow, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Skidman, Philo	shoemaker, 36	4
Slamm, Levi D.	grocer, 37	3
Slaughter, George	presser, 35	5
Smith, Henry M.	broker, 36	2
Smith, Isaac E.	mahogany-yard, 36	3
Smith, Truman	merchant, 36	1
Sneden, Samuel	sailmaker, 36	4
Sommers, Charles G.	rev., 36	2
Spear, Albert I.	shoemaker, 36	4
Spencer, Joseph P.	hats, 37	3
Springsteen, Cornelius	No occupation	
Stanley, James E.	Legible, not in	
Storms, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Swan, George	Legible, not in	
Taylor, John L.	carter, 36	5
Terry, Abraham	confectioner, 35	3
Theysen, John	Legible, not in	
Tillou, Wesley	Legible, not in	
Titchener, Edmund	confectioner, 36	3
Titchener, Henry	confectioner, 36	3
Townsend, William B.	editor, 36	2
Tucker, Edward	paper ruler, 36	5
Underwood, George W.	merchant tailor, 36	4
Utter, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Vail, Robert	Legible, not in	
Vale, Gilbert	teacher of navigation, 36	2
Vandoren, Henry	Legible, not in	
Vanranslaer, Thomas	victualler ("coloured"),36	3
Vanvleet, J.R.S.	printer, 35	4
Wagstaff, William	No occupation	
Wallin, James E.	Legible, not in	
Wallin, Samuel	engraver, 35	4
Ward, Nehemiah	No occupation	
Washburn, Isaac	fruits, 36	3
Washburn, Natnaniel	builder, 36	4
White, George I.	wood engraver, 36	4
Whitewright, James	Legible, not in	
Wickens, Obed	clock & watchmaker, 36	4
Wickens, S.B.	Legible, not in	
Wilbur, Marcus	drygoods, 36	3
Williams, David S.	Legible, not in	
Williams, J.N.	Legible, not in	
Williams, Thomas S.	merchant, 36	1
Wills, Alfred J.	No occupation	
Wilson, Andrew	inspector beef, 36	2
Wilson, Thomas L.	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Wood, Elkanah	druggist, 36	3
Wood, Oliver E.	No occupation	
Woodland, R.D.	Legible, not in	

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

- Anderson, Peter
- Armstrong, James
- Baldwin, J.C.
- Beach, John
- Brandshaw, John
- Brown, Richard
- Carpenter, E.
- Carter, Samuel
- Church, William
- Church, William Sr.
- Cook, William
- Cox, John
- Davis, S.
- Foster, William
- Fraser, James
- Goss, M.
- Granger, John
- Griffiths, John
- Hall, Henry
- Heath, John
- Holmes, J.
- Lambert, Edward A.
- Lane, Anthony
- Mead, D.
- O'Brien, Thomas
- Robertson, James
- Scott, Thomas
- Sharpe, J.
- Sinclair, William
- Sutton, W.
- Tucker, George
- West, William
- Williams, Daniel (signed twice)
- Williams, George (signed twice)
- Williams, James
- Williams, Joseph
- Wilson, William

UMI

APPENDIX 11A

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tabled in the House of Representatives on December 18, 1837.

Summary of All Signers (86): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	34	39.5
Legible, found, no occupation listed	6	7.0
Legible, not in	16	18.6
Legible, too common	11	12.8
Illegible	19	22.1
Total	86	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (34)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	4	11.8
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	6	17.6
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	11	32.4
Artisans	11	32.4
Laborers and Cartmen	2	5.9
Total	34	100.1

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (3), commission merchant (1)	4	11.8
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
M. D. (3), surgeon bonesetter (1)	4	11.8
clerk	1	2.9
Tract missionary	1	2.9
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	3	8.8
grocer	2	5.9
crockery	1	2.9

	Number	Percent
drugs	1	2.9
fancystore	1	2.9
haberdasher	1	2.9
mahogany doors	1	2.9
watches	1	2.9
Artisans:		
brush-manufacturer	1	2.9
carpenter	1	2.9
goldbeater	1	2.9
hatter	1	2.9
jeweller	1	2.9
mason	1	2.9
painter	1	2.9
printer	1	2.9
segarmaker	1	2.9
shipcarpenter	1	2.9
umbrellamaker	1	2.9
Laborers and Cartmen:		
porter	1	2.9
waiter	1	2.9
Total	34	99.2

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H1.8, Drawer #626, Bundle #4.

Note: Printed text. One duplicate signer. The peculiar wording of this petition--"full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia"--was an attempt to circumvent the gag rule by not mentioning slavery in its text. Part of this petition is probably missing since the clerk in the House counted 121 signers while there are only 86 on the existing petition.

UMI

APPENDIX 11B

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tabled in the House of Representatives on December 18, 1837

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Aldis, William	Legible, not in	
Beale, Joseph H.	Legible, not in	
Berrien, Daniel & Co.	brush-manufacturer, 36	4
Brown, Stephen C.	No occupation	
Brown, Thomas H.	mahogany doors, 37	3
Burgess, John	grocer, 36	3
Calvin, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Clowes, Valentine	porter, 37	5
Coolidge, William T.	No occupation	
Coots, Charles	Legible, not in	
Currie, Edwin	segarmaker, 36	4
Darling, Lewis A.	hatter, 37	4
Donnallon, James	clerk, 37	2
Dowie, Henry	drygoods, 37	3
Dudley, William E.	No occupation	
Evans, Thomas S.	Legible, not in	
Fitch, Thomas	commission merchant, 37	1
Frost, William T.	painter, 36	4
Gelston, Henry	jeweller, 36	4
Gibbons, James	mason, 36	4
Hewett, Jonas G.	surgeon bonesetter, 37	2
Hill, Pierse	fancystore, 37	3
Hopper, Josiah	drugs, 38	3
Howe, George C. & Co.	watches, 37	3
Jackson, Solomon H.	printer, 37	4
James, E.D.	drygoods, 38	3

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Lauder, Francis	Legible, not in	
Lyons, John J.	goldbeater, 36	4
McClain, Talam	Legible, not in	
McKee, J.G.	Legible, not in	
Merritt, Nathaniel S.	merchant, 37	1
Middleton, Robert	haberdasher, 37	3
Morgan, Charles A.	waiter, 37	5
Muir, James	umbrellamaker, 37	4
Muir, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Neal, William	carpenter, 37	4
Palmer, Abraham A.	shipcarpenter, 37	4
Provoost, J.	Legible, not in	
Ramee, P. John	Legible, not in	
Russell, Samuel Jr.	tract missionary, 38	2
Senff, Henry	M.D., 37	2
Smith, H.O.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Marmaduke	Legible, not in	
Smith, Mulford	grocer, 37	3
Syme, James	M.D., 38	2
Syme, William	Legible, not in	
Taylor, H.D.	Legible, not in	
Thorn, James G.	M.D., 38	2
Tilyou, Peter V. (signed twice)	No occupation	
Tompkins, Jacob	No occupation	
Wesley, W.	Legible, not in	
Willets, Amos	merchant, 37	1
Willets, Edmund	crockery, 37	3
Willets, Robert R.	No occupation	
Willets, Stephen	merchant, 36	1
Youle, George	drygoods, 37	3

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Fisher, Fr.
Hagan, James
Hutchinson, S.
Jackson, John
Moir, J.
Parker, Isaac
Robertson, John
Ross, William
Schmidt, C.
Smith, Samuel
Willets, Samuel

APPENDIX 12A

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tabled in the House of Representatives on December 18, 1837

Summary of All Signers (251): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	83	33.0
Legible, found, no occupation listed	7	2.8
Legible, not in	85	33.9
Legible, too common	31	12.4
Illegible	45	17.9
Total	251	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (83)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	3	3.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	10	12.0
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	32	38.6
Artisans	34	41.0
Laborers and Cartmen	3	3.6
Other	1	1.2
Total	83	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
Merchant	3	3.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
attorney and counselor	2	2.4
M. D. (1), physican (1)	2	2.4
reverend	2	2.4
accountant	1	1.2
agent[a]	1	1.2
clerk	1	1.2
musican	1	1.2

	Number	Percent
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
leather (8), hides (1)	9	10.8
drygoods	6	7.2
grocer	4	4.8
drugs (2), druggist (1)	3	3.6
stocks, etc.	3	3.6
baskets	1	1.2
clothier	1	1.2
findings	1	1.2
fruits	1	1.2
looking glasses	1	1.2
shoes	1	1.2
wool dealer	1	1.2
Artisans:		
shoemaker (8), bootmaker (4)	12	14.5
tailor	4	4.8
hatter	2	2.4
mason	2	2.4
rigger	2	2.4
baker	1	1.2
barber	1	1.2
brushmaker	1	1.2
builder	1	1.2
butcher	1	1.2
copperplate printer	1	1.2
currier	1	1.2
moroccodresser	1	1.2
smith	1	1.2
stockmaker	1	1.2
tinsmith	1	1.2
watchmaker	1	1.2
Laborers and Cartmen:		
bootcrimper	1	1.2
hatpresser	1	1.2
porter	1	1.2
Other:		
sexton	1	1.2
Total	83	98.7

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H.18, Drawer #626, Bundle #4.

Note: Printed text. No duplicate signers.

[a] The agent, Loring D. Dewey, was also a minister.

UMI

APPENDIX 12B

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tabled in the House of Representatives on December 18, 1837

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Alyers, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Anthony, Joseph	rigger, 37	4
Atkinson, C.A.D. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Augustus, Richard	shoemaker, 37	4
Baber, Alfred	drygoods, 37	3
Baker, William E.	Legible, not in	
Barnes, William E.	grocer, 37	3
Berrian, John	Legible, not in	
Blackburne, Robbins C.	merchant, 37	1
Bond, Anthony	sexton ("coloured"), 38	6
Bowen, H.C.	Legible, not in	
Bowie, John H.	leather, 38	3
Bowman, Samuel	merchant, 37	1
Bowner, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Braine, Daniel	wool dealer, 36	3
Bricker, John	Legible, not in	
Brown, Philip H.	mason, 37	4
Burger, Ebenezer H.	No occupation	
Byrnes, Henry	bootmaker, 36	4
Byrnes, Henry Turner	Legible, not in	
Cain, Claiborne W.	watchmaker, 37	4
Campbell, George C.	Legible, not in	
Chilton, George L. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Churchill, William H.	Legible, not in	
Cills, Edward	Legible, not in	
Clark, Henry P.	No occupation	
Colclough, William	shoemaker, 37	4
Colvill, William	Legible, not in	
Cornish, Samuel E.	rev., 37	2
Corp, R.T.	Legible, not in	
Corse, Barney	No occupation	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Corse, John	Legible, not in	
Corse, William	leather, 36	3
Cowes, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Cox, A. Cleveland	Legible, not in	
Cox, Samuel H. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Crane, Stephen M.	Legible, not in	
Crump, John	Legible, not in	
Davison, Henry W.	Legible, not in	
Dewey, Rev. Loring D.	agent, 37	2
Dias, Ezekiel	Legible, not in	
Dickson, William	Legible, not in	
Doe, E. Packer	Legible, not in	
Dresser, Horace	attorney & counselor, 37	2
Dupont, John H.	shoemaker, 37	4
Durfee, Charles	No occupation	
Edwards, A.R.	Legible, not in	
Edwards, Benjamin B.	drugs, 37	3
Elston, Alexander	bootmaker ("coloured"), 37	4
Elston, B. Franklin	Legible, not in	
Elston, D.	Legible, not in	
Fanshaw, Charles	stockmaker, 37	4
Farnam, Joel B.	leather, 37	3
Finch, Myron	Legible, not in	
Fisher, George	tailor, 38	4
Flammer, John G.	bootcrimper, 37	5
Fowler, L.M.	Legible, not in	
Fraser, Horace	Legible, not in	
Fraser, Oris	Legible, not in	
Geary, James	shoemaker, 37	4
Goldsmith, B.M.	Legible, not in	
Gosiah, Isaac	bootmaker ("coloured"), 37	4
Gray, John A.C.	drygoods, 37	3
Green, Charles	Legible, not in	
Greene, Thomas	leather, 37	3
Guinian, Felix H.	Legible, not in	
Haddock, J.T.	Legible, not in	
Halliday, H.H.	Legible, not in	
Hamilton, Mark K.	leather, 37	3
Hammill, William	stocks etc., 38	3
Harrow, John	Legible, not in	
Hatch, Charles B.	stocks etc., 37	3
Hewlett, George S.	grocer, 37	3
Hicks, Francis	Legible, not in	
Hicks, Joseph	bootmaker, 36	4
Holmes, J.N.	Legible, not in	
Holt, Henry A.	No occupation	
Horr, H.	Legible, not in	
Humbert, William B.	baker, 37	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hunter, Charles	hatpresser, 37	5
Husted, Alonso D.	Legible, not in	
Jackson, Lewis E.	Legible, not in	
Jackson, William H.	barber ("coloured"), 38	4
Janes, Frederic Jr.	Legible, not in	
Jefferies, James	Legible, not in	
Jewett, Edward H.	leather, 37	3
Jinnings, Thomas L.	clothier, 37	3
Johnson, J.M.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, James	M.D., 37	2
Johnson, Jonathan T.	accountant, 36	2
Johnson, Peter H.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, William P.	findings, 37	3
Jones, Darius E.	musician, 37	2
Kemp, Edward	shoes, 36	3
Kenney, John S.	shoemaker, 38	4
Kingsland, Abraham B.	drygoods, 38	3
Kirby, Willet T.	drugs, 38	3
Kirk, John H.	copperplate printer, 37	4
Labaw, Jonathan	currier, 37	4
Lacy, P.	Legible, not in	
Lane, Nehemiah B.	grocer, 36	3
Laton, Benjamin B.	shoemaker, 37	4
Latsin, James	Legible, not in	
Lee, P.B.	Legible, not in	
Livingston, William C.	Legible, not in	
Loines, William	Legible, not in	
Loveridge, William	baskets, 36	3
Lyon, William G.	No occupation	
Martin, E.O.	Legible, not in	
Matthews, Isaac M.	porter, 36	5
Maxwell, John B.	Legible, not in	
Meriam, Benjamin W.	looking glasses, 37	3
Mitchell, W.H.	Legible, not in	
Moran, Isaac A.	stocks, 37	3
Moran, Richard Wood	Legible, not in	
Morris, Samuel	brushmaker, 37	4
Munson, Peter J. Jr.	Legible, not in	
Munson, Peter J. Sr.	Legible, not in	
Murlis, Robert	tailor, 37	4
Myers, Jeremiah T.	shoemaker ("coloured"), 38	4
Nicholas, W.D.	Legible, not in	
Noble, William Jr.	Legible, not in	
Palmer, Jonathan	tailor, 37	4
Parker, James H.	Legible, not in	
Pattison, John	Legible, not in	
Penniman, E.H.	Legible, not in	
Perry, Robert	druggist, 36	3
Peterson, George	tinsmith, 37	4

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Peterson, John	rigger, 37	4
Pew, Edward B.	hatter, 37	4
Pratt, Charles G.	Legible, not in	
Price, William H.	Legible, not in	
Pritchard, William A.	Legible, not in	
Pyne, Thomas	hides etc., 37	3
Rankin, Montgomery	leather, 37	3
Reason, C.	Legible, not in	
Rich, Lewis	hatter, 36	4
Robinson, James F.	attorney & counselor, 37	2
Round, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Rumsey, Aaron B.	fruits, 36	3
Schooley, David	Legible, not in	
Schuyler, George W.	butcher, 37	4
Scofield, Miller	Legible, not in	
Scott, Alexander Mc.L. & Co.	drygoods, 36	3
Scott, Thomas B.	Legible, not in	
Seaman, Timothy	Legible, not in	
Seely, Raymond M.	Legible, not in	
Sharpe, Hezekiah D.	No occupation	
Sills, E.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Benjamin M.	physician, 38	2
Smith, Sanford S.	Legible, not in	
Stead, Benjamin F.	Legible, not in	
Stephens, Lawrence	Legible, not in	
Stoakley, John W.H.	Legible, not in	
Taylor, Benjamin	smith, 37	4
Thompson, John L.	rev., 38	2
Treadway, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Tyson, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Underwood, George W.	tailor, 37	4
Vanderhoof, Peter S.	shoemaker, 37	4
Vantine, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Wallace, Matthew T.	clerk, 37	2
Warriner, William P.	drygoods, 38	3
Washburn, Nathaniel	builder, 36	4
Watts, George	moroccodresser, 37	4
Whitlock, George	leather, 38	3
Wilde, Samuel	merchant, 37	1
Wildey, John P.	Legible, not in	
Wiley, Herbert L.	Legible, not in	
Willcox, Edwin	Legible, not in	
Williams, George H.	Legible, not in	
Williams, Henry	drygoods, 37	3
Williamson, Jacob	grocer, 37	3
Wilson, William J.	Legible, not in	
Woolley, James	mason, 38	4

UMI

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Anderson, John
Bates, William
Browers, A.D.
Carpenter, James
Carpenter, William
Clark, Edward
Cornell, N.
Dugan, John
Fanshaw, William
Fraser, James
Golden, P.
Harper, James
Jackson, Thomas
Johnson, Samuel
Kellogg, Charles
Lane, Anthony
McKinsey, James
Martin, William
Miles, William
Moore, George
Morris, Charles
Peck, George
Richardson, John
Smith, John G.
Stevens, T.
Tracy, George M.
Watson, James
Williams, G.
Williams, George
Williamson, William
Wood, Samuel

UMI

APPENDIX 13A

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tables in the House of Representatives December 18, 1837

Summary of All Signers (398): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	126	31.9
Legible, found, no occupation listed	13	3.3
Legible, not in	144	35.9
Legible, too common	50	12.6
Illegible	65	16.3
Total	398	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (126)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	2	1.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	37	29.4
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	23	18.3
Artisans	52	41.3
Laborers and Cartmen	10	7.9
Other	2	1.6
Total	126	100.1

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (1), importer of foreign perfumery (1)	2	1.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
M. D. (4), botanic physician(4), physician (2), M. D., drugs (1) surgeon (1)	12	9.5
reverend	7	5.6
agent	2	1.6
attorney and counselor	2	1.6

	Number	Percent
broker	2	1.6
dentist (1), surgeon dentist and manufacturer of incorruptible teeth (1)	2	1.6
editor[a]	2	1.6
accountant	1	.8
collector	1	.8
librarian	1	.8
publisher	1	.8
secretary, American Anti-Slavery Society	1	.8
sloopmaster	1	.8
teacher	1	.8
U. S. inspector	1	.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	3	2.4
grocer	3	2.4
clothier	2	1.6
tavern	2	1.6
boardinghouse	1	.8
boots	1	.8
coal	1	.8
druggist	1	.8
India rubber	1	.8
junk	1	.8
porterhouse	1	.8
prints	1	.8
ready-made linens	1	.8
shipchandler	1	.8
stocks, etc.	1	.8
tinware	1	.8
victualler	1	.8
Artisans:		
carpenter	8	6.3
printer	8	6.3
baker (4), piebaker (1)	5	4.
shoemaker	3	2.4
bradmaker (1), tack and bradmaker (1)	2	1.6
cabinet maker	2	1.6
engraver	2	1.6
hatter	2	1.6
machinist	2	1.6
painter	2	1.6
sailmaker	2	1.6
watchmaker (1), clock and watchmaker (1)	2	1.6
bookbinders	1	.8
cap manufacturer	1	.8
engineer	1	.8
jeweller	1	.8
joiner	1	.8
modeller	1	.8

	Number	Percent
pewterer	1	.8
rigger	1	.8
silversmith	1	.8
tailor	1	.8
tinsmith	1	.8
typecutter	1	.8
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	4	3.2
porter	3	2.4
hatfinisher	1	.8
scourer	1	.8
waiter	1	.8
Other:		
A. lunch	1	.8
letter carrier	1	.8
Total	126	100.5

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H1.8, Drawer #626, Bundle #4.

Note: Printed text. Two duplicate signers. The peculiar wording of this petition--"full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia"--was an attempt to circumvent the gag rule by not mentioning slavery in its text.

[a] One editor was also a minister--LaRoy Sunderland.

UMI

APPENDIX 13B

Petition advocating "full legal rights to all inhabitants of the District of Columbia," tabled in the House of Representatives on December 18, 1837

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Albert, John & Co.	shipchandlers, 37	3
Allen, George P.	printer, 38	4
Allen, Stephen	No occupation	
Alzien, Adolphus	Legible, not in	
Antony, William	Legible, not in	
Armstrong, Samuel T.	India rubber, 37	3
Arnold, Effingham W.	printer, 37	4
Artes, Henry	Legible, not in	
Asuke, James	Legible, not in	
Atkinson, Asher	botanic physician, 37	2
Atkinson, John	painter, 37	4
Atkinson, Robert	Legible, not in	
Axford, John	printer, 37	4
Ball, Alonzo S.	M.D., 37	2
Barker, George R.	broker, 37	2
Barker, James W.	drygoods, 37	3
Barney, James	Legible, not in	
Bayles, James A.	Legible, not in	
Berry, Reuben B.	Legible, not in	
Betts, Henry	machinist, 37	4
Betts, Jesse	porter ("coloured"), 37	5
Biddle, Charles	Legible, not in	
Bishop, Joshua	Legible, not in	
Blackford, William H.	watchmaker, 36	4
Blacklidge, Benjamin	sailmaker, 37	4
Bond, George W.	physician, 37	2
Boston, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Bourne, George	rev., 37	2
Brewer, Sidney S.	tinsmith, 36	4
Brewer, William	importer of foreign perfumery, 37	1
Brewster, Mason S.	Legible, not in	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Briggs, James H.	carter, 37	5
Bristol, Charles	Legible, not in	
Brower, James D.	carpenter, 36	4
Brown, James E.	Legible, not in	
Buchanan, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Buggy, James	Legible, not in	
Burnett, James	baker, 37	4
Calhoun, G.D.	Legible, not in	
Camp, Amzi	No occupation	
Campble, H.A.	Legible, not in	
Canady, John	Legible, not in	
Carney, Moses	carter, 37	5
Carter, Henry	Legible, not in	
Cheney, William	Legible, not in	
Clark, Charles J.	grocer, 38	3
Clarke, George L.	Legible, not in	
Coe, James W.	Legible, not in	
Cogswell, Henry	clothier, 37	3
Cogswell, Jacob	clothier, 37	3
Collins, Charles	merchant, 38	1
Colton & Jenkins	bookbinders, 36	4
Comthenfield, G.	Legible, not in	
Conover, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Conway, John A.	Legible, not in	
Cook, Caleb C.	Legible, not in	
Cook, Elias	shoemaker, 37	4
Cook, Jeremiah	Legible, not in	
Cook, Nelson	Legible, not in	
Copeland, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Cornish, Samuel E.	rev., 37	2
Cowley, William	Legible, not in	
Cox, Abraham L.	M.D. & surgeon, 37	2
Crain, Josephus	hatfinisher, 37	5
Crandall, Reuben	M.D., 37	2
Curry, Samuel	joiner, 37	4
Damon, Pany	Legible, not in	
Davies, Luke & Son	cap manufacturer, 36	4
Davis, Cornelius	teacher, 36	2
Davis, Jeremiah	Legible, not in	
Davison, Henry W.	Legible, not in	
Davison, Norten	botanic physician, 37	2
Devinné, Daniel	rev., 37	2
Dey, Anthony	attorney & counselor, 37	2
Dias, Henry	Legible, not in	
Dias, John	hatter, 36	4
Dickerman, H.K.	Legible, not in	
Dimond, Isaac M.	silversmith, 37	4
Ditchen, Samuel	Legible, not in	
Doolittle, Adrastus	botanic physician, 37	2

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Dow, Charles A.	baker, 37	4
Dunbar, Duncan	rev., 37	2
Dunbar, John	carter, 36	5
Durkin, Richard G.	sailmaker, 37	4
Edwards, Samuel T.	a. lunch, 36	6
Elston, Barzilla	Legible, not in	
Ely, Henry G.	Legible, not in	
Fezler, John J.	No occupation	
Field, Arby	tack & bradmaker, 37	4
Field, Charles D.	Legible, not in	
Field, Jude	bradmaker, 37	4
Finn, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Flanagan, Richardson	baker, 37	4
Foster, Samuel F.	Legible, not in	
Fowler, Henry	tailor, 36	4
Fraser, Oris	Legible, not in	
Gale, Andrew D.	carpenter, 37	4
Gallagher, John M.	carpenter, 37	4
Garthwaite, David	printer, 37	4
Gatt, Edward	Legible, not in	
Gibbs, William	porter ("coloured"), 36	5
Gilbert, Marshall	Legible, not in	
Gillies, H.W.	Legible, not in	
Goff, Benedict	Legible, not in	
Graham, Edward V.	Legible, not in	
Grain, Neven	Legible, not in	
Gray, John A.C.	drygoods, 36	3
Gray, Richard	Legible, not in	
Groos, Ebram	Legible, not in	
Hall, Samuel M.	Legible, not in	
Hamilton, Eli	Legible, not in	
Hampson, William	painter, 36	4
Harrington, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Harris, Reuben J.	Legible, not in	
Haskell, Samuel S.	accountant, 36	2
Hatch, Isaac	letter carrier, 37	6
Hawley, Joseph	M.D., 37	2
Hayward, Warden	collector, 36	2
Head, Benjamin F.	Legible, not in	
Hendrick, George	Legible, not in	
Higgs, Abraham	Legible, not in	
Hinchellwood, R.	Legible, not in	
Hoffman, Thomas	engineer, 36	4
Hogbin, Robert	tinware, 37	3
Hooper, A.B.	Legible, not in	
Hopkins, William T.	drygoods, 37	3
Hudson, Phineas	carpenter, 37	4
Hudson, W.P.	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Jacobs, William B.	boardinghouse, 37	3
Janes, Frederick	Legible, not in	
Jeffers, James	piebaker ("coloured"), 38	4
Jocelyn, Simeon S.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Amos	surgeon dentist & manufacturer of incorruptible Teeth, 37	2
Johnson, Frederick	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Henry F.	carpenter, 37	4
Johnson, Moses	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Peter	tavern, 37	3
Johnson, Peter Jr.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, William Jr.	Legible, not in	
Jordan, Rex	Legible, not in	
Kline, Aaron	porterhouse, 36	3
Knight, Eben	Legible, not in	
Knight, Jonathan Jr.	Legible, not in	
Knox, Asbury	Legible, not in	
Lawler, John	printer, 37	4
Lawson, Charles	sloopmaster, 36	2
Lewis, Benjamin G.	modeller, 37	4
Lillelan, Thomas J.	Legible, not in	
Livingston, James Duane	No occupation	
Lobdell, Jerome B.	printer, 36	4
Louis, William	Legible, not in	
Ludlum, Matthias	Legible, not in	
Lyon, William P.	stocks etc., 37	3
McClean, Edward A.	druggist, 37	3
McKellar, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Magruder, Benjamin J.	Legible, not in	
Marquand, Josiah P.	No occupation	
Marriott, Charles	Legible, not in	
Marrison, David R.	Legible, not in	
Marseilles, John	carpenter, 37	4
Meserole, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Michael, Joseph	junk, 36	3
Michel, Benjamin Paul	Legible, not in	
Miller, John J.	Legible, not in	
Mitchel, John	cabinetmaker, 36	4
Miter, John J.	Legible, not in	
Montee, Richard Allen	Legible, not in	
Moor, William	Legible, not in	
Moor, William Jr.	Legible, not in	
Moore, George W.	Legible, not in	
Moore, John J.	grocer, 36	3
Mulford, Jacob S.	Legible, not in	
Munson, S.T.	Legible, not in	
Nelson, Lewis H.	grocer ("coloured"), 37	3

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Newell, Henry	boots, 38	3
Nickolson, James	Legible, not in	
Niles, William W.	rev., 37	2
Paine, Ephraim	Legible, not in	
Palen, Nathan	Legible, not in	
Parker, Asa	cabinetmaker, 37	4
Parker, James H.	Legible, not in	
Parson, F.	Legible, not in	
Peterson, Abraham M. (signed twice)	Legible, not in	
Phelps, Amos A.	Legible, not in	
Phillips, Robert	U.S. Inspector, 37	2
Piercy, Henry R.	printer, 37	4
Pitts, Thomas	physician, 37	2
Pohl, T.H.	Legible, not in	
Pyatt, Francis	shoemaker, 37	4
Pyne, James A.	prints, 37	3
Quonn, Mark	waiter ("coloured"), 37	5
Ray, Charles B.	No occupation("coloured"),37	
Ray, Peter	Legible, not in	
Ray, Theodore A.	Legible, not in	
Reeves, Jesse	No occupation	
Rich, Lewis	hatter, 36	4
Ricketts, Moses	Legible, not in	
Ritter, Thomas	M.D., drugs, 37	2
Robinson, James F.	attorney & counselor, 37	2
Roles, Jacob	porter ("coloured"), 38	5
Ross, Charles	baker, 37	4
Royce, William C.P.	Legible, not in	
Ruggles, David	agent ("coloured"), 36	2
Sands, Charles	No occupation	
Sayre, E.F.	Legible, not in	
Seaman, Eli	Legible, not in	
Seaman, Seth	Legible, not in	
Seely, Peter	rigger, 37	4
Shield, Paul (signed twice)	Legible, not in	
Shorter, A. Adam	Legible, not in	
Shotwell, William Jr.	broker, 37	2
Simmons, George M.	Legible, not in	
Smillie, David	jeweller, 36	4
Smillie, George	Legible, not in	
Smillie, James	engraver, 36	4
Smillie, William	engraver, 36	4
Smith, Alexander D.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Alfred W.	ready made linens, 37	3
Smith, Isaac S.	botanic physician, 37	2
Smith, Miles	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Smyth, Samuel A.	Legible, not in	
Southerland, John	librarian, 38	2
Sprague, Isaac Newton	rev., 37	2
Springer, William	carpenter, 37	4
Stephens, A.V.	Legible, not in	
Stokes, Edward H.	coal, 37	3
Stokes, John	Legible, not in	
Stone, H.G.	Legible, not in	
Sunderland, Rev. LaRoy	editor, 37	2
Sylvester, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Sylvester, Lewis	Legible, not in	
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation	
Taylor, John S.	No occupation	
Terry, Parshall	Legible, not in	
Thomas, Elijah	Legible, not in	
Thomkins, Charles	Legible, not in	
Tilman, Joseph	Legible, not in	
Tollen, Charles	Legible, not in	
Tolley, John	No occupation	
Tomkins, George	Legible, not in	
Tupper, Hiram	printer, 37	4
Turner, William Wad.	Legible, not in	
Turpin, Loudon W.	carpenter ("coloured"), 38	4
Usmar, John	Legible, not in	
Vanrenslaer, Thomas	victualler("coloured"), 38	3
Vere, James	M.D., 37	2
Vermilya, Thomas	No occupation	
Vermilye, Thomas E.	machinist, 36	4
Ware, Joseph	shoemaker, 37	4
Ware, Joseph Jr.	Legible, not in	
Warren, William	Legible, not in	
Washington, J.J.	scourer ("coloured"), 37	5
Watson, George	agent, 37	2
Waugh, William R.	Legible, not in	
Weld, Theodore D.	Legible, not in	
Weller, Charles	Legible, not in	
Weller, Moses H.	Legible, not in	
Wells, Darius & Co.	typecutter, 37	4
Wells, Guy D.	Legible, not in	
West, Charles E.	Legible, not in	
West, Trinel Watson	Legible, not in	
Wheeler, John E.	Legible, not in	
Whiting, Seymour	dentist, 37	2
Wickens, Obed	clock & watchmaker, 37	4
Wickens, S.B.	Legible, not in	
Wilbur, Jeremiah	No occupation	
Wildes, Thomas	pewterer, 37	4
Williams, D.S.	Legible, not in	
Williams, Ranson G.	publisher, 37	2

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Williams, Robert J.	Legible, not in	
Williams, York	Legible, not in	
Willson, Alonza	Legible, not in	
Wilson, James G.	editor, 37	2
Wilson, John H.	carter, 37	5
Womsley, Charles	Legible, not in	
Woodruff, Samuel M.	Legible, not in	
Woods, William	provisioner, 37	
Wright, Elizur Jr.	secy., American Anti-Slavery Society, 36	2
Wright, Henry	tavern, 37	3
Wright, Theodore S.	rev. ("coloured"), 37	2
Yanson, William H.	Legible, not in	
Yates, William	Legible, not in	
Young, Edward	Legible, not in	

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Allen, A.
Allen, Charles
Adams, John
Andrews, John
Bradford, William
Brown, James
Brown, Samuel
Buckmaster, Thomas
Campbell, William
Campbell, William
Carpenter, E.
Clarkson, John
Collins, William
Davis, Henry
Freeman, A.
Grant, William
Gray, Thomas
Jackson, John
Jackson, Joseph
Johnson, George
Johnson, John
Johnson, Richard
Johnson, William
Jones, John
Lambert, Edward A.
Lawrence, Richard
Lewis, Charles W.
Lewis, M.
Mason, John
Miller, Charles
Miller, William
Mitchell, John
Moore, William
Nichols, Henry
Osborne, M.
Osborne, R.
Peterson, Peterson
Quin, John
Raymond, S.W.
Reynolds, C.
Robertson, Robert
Scott, Alexander
Smith, W.B.
Smith, William H.
Thompson, William H.
Westervelt, Peter
Williams, George
Williams, William
Wilson, William
Wright, John

APPENDIX 14A

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Summary of All Signers (248): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	104	41.9
Legible, found, no occupation listed	23	9.3
Legible, not in	53	21.4
Legible, too common	28	11.3
Illegible	40	16.1
Total	248	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (104)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	4	3.8
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	42	40.4
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	17	16.3
Artisans	35	33.7
Laborers and Cartmen	2	1.9
Other	4	3.8
Total	104	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (3), silkgoods (1)[a]	4	3.8
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
reverend (9), tract missionary (1)	10	9.6
M. D. (4), M. D. and surgeon (1), physician (1)	6	5.8
attorney and counselor (3), attorney (1)	4	3.8
broker (3), estate broker (1)	4	3.8
agent (2), agent of the American Transportation Company (1)	3	2.9

	Number	Percent
clerk	3	2.9
editor[b]	3	2.9
accountant	1	1.
corresponding secretary American Anti-Slavery Society	1	1.
dentist	1	1.
musican	1	1.
professor[c]	1	1.
publisher	1	1.
secretary	1	1.
teacher	1	1.
U. S. inspector	1	1.
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocers	5	4.8
fancy store	2	1.9
boardinghouse	1	1.
books	1	1.
drugs	1	1.
paperdealer	1	1.
drygoods	1	1.
porterhouse	1	1.
provisions	1	1.
shoes	1	1.
tinware	1	1.
victualler	1	1.
Artisans:		
printer (7), copperplate printer (1)	8	7.7
baker	2	1.9
carpenter	2	1.9
stereotyper	2	1.9
cabinetmaker	1	1.
canemaker	1	1.
chairmaker	1	1.
combmaker	1	1.
dyer	1	1.
engraver	1	1.
glasscutter	1	1.
hairdresser	1	1.
hatter	1	1.
moroccodresser	1	1.
painter	1	1.
paperstainer	1	1.
rigger	1	1.
ropemaker	1	1.
silversmith	1	1.
smith	1	1.
steam planing mill	1	1.
tailor	1	1.
turner	1	1.
upholsterer	1	1.
woolstapler	1	1.

		Number	Percent
Laborers and Cartmen			
carter		1	1.
porter		1	1.
Other:			
forwarding		1	1.
lettercarrier		1	1.
refreshments		1	1.
sexton		1	1.
	Total	104	101.6

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H1.8, Drawer #628, Bundle #18.

Note: Printed text. Two duplicate signers.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listing would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

[b] Two editors were also ministers--Rev. Joshua Leavitt and Rev. LaRoy Sunderland.

[c] This professor, George Bush, was also a minister.

APPENDIX 14B

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Abbott, C.H.	Legible, not in	
Abbott, Joshua W.	Legible, not in	
Aikman, Robert	turner, 38	4
Angell, Stephen	provisions, 38	3
Bacheler, Origen	Legible, not in	
Baldwin, Ira C.	accountant, 38	2
Banning, Alpheus	baker, 38	4
Barney, Hiram	attorney, 38	2
Barrows, Albert	Legible, not in	
Bennett, David P.B.	Legible, not in	
Birch, George	glasscutter, 37	4
Blain, John	rev., 37	2
Bokee, Abraham	No occupation	
Bourne, Rev. George	rev., 38	2
Bowe, Obadiah A.	Legible, not in	
Bowne, Henry I.	lettercarrier, 39	6
Brooks, Edwin L.B.	attorney & counselor, 38	2
Brown, Stephen M.D.	physician, 38	2
Bruce, Andrew	Legible, not in	
Bryan, Thomas (signed twice)	agent, 38	2
Bryant, Lloyd	shoes, 38	3
Buffum, David	No occupation	
Bull, Alonso S.	Legible, not in	
Burger, Ebenezer H.	No occupation	
Burr, William H.	Legible, not in	
Bush, Rev. George	professor, 38	2
Calleys, William	Legible, not in	
Carpenter, Elisha	clerk, 38	2
Champney, Francis C.	fancy store, 38	3
Channing, William H.	rev., 37	2

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Chase, Clark	Legible, not in	
Cherry, Daniel	smith, 37	4
Clarke, George L.	Legible, not in	
Clement, John	dyer, 37	4
Coggeshall, Caleb	clerk, 39	2
Cooke, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Cornish, Samuel E.	rev., 37	2
Cox, Abraham L.	M.D. & surgeon, 37	2
Cox, Henry	carter, 38	5
Crocker, Stephen	No occupation	
Cummings, A.B.	agent, 39	2
Cummings, William A.	grocer, 39	3
Davis, Cornelius	Legible, not in	
Davison, H.W.	Legible, not in	
Devinné, Daniel	rev., 37	2
Dimond, Isaac M.	silversmith, 38	4
Dorr, William S.	printer, 39	4
Dow, Joseph O.	Legible, not in	
Draper, W.C.	Legible, not in	
Dunbar, Duncan	rev., 38	2
Durfee, Charles	No occupation	
Eastburn, John W.	printer, 39	4
Eddy, Peter	Legible, not in	
Ely, Henry G.	Legible, not in	
Emerson, Joseph	baker, 38	4
Farr, James W.	drygoods, 37	3
Flaherty, Michael	grocer, 38	3
Follin, Charles	merchant, 38	1
Fowler, Jeremiah L.	chairmaker, 38	4
Fox, Marvin	teacher, 39	2
Frasier, Samuel F.	Legible, not in	
French, James H.	paperstainer, 38	4
French, William	grocer, 38	3
Gibbons, James	clerk, 39	2
Gilbert, Lyman W.	No occupation	
Gillelan, John	No occupation	
Goodenough, S.J.	Legible, not in	
Gray, Nathaniel	tract missionary, 38	2
Greene, Nathaniel H.	U.S. inspector, 39	2
Griswold, Rufus W.	editor, 37	2
Hagerman, James L.	hairdresser("coloured"),38	4
Haight, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Hallock, Lewis	M.D., 38	2
Hallock, Samuel T.	forwarding, 38	6
Harris, Charles	rigger, 39	4
Hawley, Joseph	M.D., 38	2
Hildrith, James	No occupation	
Hodges, Marcus F.	No occupation	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hogbin, Robert	tinware, 38	3
Holt, Henry A.	No occupation	
Holton, Isaac F.	Legible, not in	
Hood, J.H.	Legible, not in	
Hopkins, R.H.	No occupation	
Horsefall, Frederick T.	No occupation	
Jackson, Obadiah	porter ("coloured"), 38	5
James, Stephen	Legible, not in	
Jennings, Joseph H.	printer, 38	4
Jewett, George G.	boardinghouse, 38	3
Jones, Darius E.	musician, 38	2
Jones, Jacob P.	stereotyper, 38	4
Lambert, Edward A.	books, 38	3
Leach, Adam C. Jr.	ropemaker, 38	4
Leavitt, Rev. Joshua	editor, 38	2
Libolt, A.	Legible, not in	
Little, George D.	Legible, not in	
Little, William H.	No occupation	
Lyons, William P.	Legible, not in	
McCartie, Justin H.	Legible, not in	
McClean, Edward A.	drugs, 38	3
McCollum, Hector	porterhouse, 38	3
McCormick, Richard C.	secretary, 38	2
McKimey, Robert	Legible, not in	
Martyn, J.W.	Legible, not in	
Metcalf, William C.	Legible, not in	
Metford, Francis & Co.	broker, 38	2
Moran, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Newcomb, George	M.D., 38	2
Nicholsin, George S.	Legible, not in	
Niles, William W.	rev., 38	2
Osborne, Marmaduke	hatter, 39	4
Parker, Asa	cabinetmaker, 38	4
Parker, Daniel P.	agent of the American Transportation Co., 38	2
Parker, James H.	Legible, not in	
Patton, William	rev., 38	2
Payne, James A.	Legible, not in	
Phelps, Henry D.	No occupation	
Pickering, Joseph S.	attorney & counselor, 37	2
Piercy, Henry R.	printer, 38	4
Plant, James	broker, 39	2
Platt, William F.	upholsterer, 38	4
Powers, S.	Legible, not in	
Rankin, John	merchant, 38	1
Ray, Charles B.	No occupation ("coloured"), 37	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Redfield, Nathan B. (signed twice)	combmaker, 38	4
Reed, John J.	printer, 38	4
Rees, Henry W.	stereotyper, 38	4
Reeves, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Reynolds, Charles	moroccodresser, 38	4
Ritter, Thomas	M.D., 38	2
Robinson, James F.	attorney & counselor, 38	2
Rockwood, Gilbert	Legible, not in	
Roulston, George F.S.	No occupation	
Sands, Daniel H.	paperdealer, 38	3
Sanger, Joseph T.	fancy-store, 38	3
Savery, John S.	sexton, 38	6
Sharpe, Hezekiah D.	No occupation	
Shaw, William C.	estate broker, 38	2
Shotwell, William Jr.	broker, 37	2
Spillett, John	woolstapler, 39	4
Spring, Marcus	No occupation	
Stanton, H.B.	Legible, not in	
Stookey, Charles	refreshments, 38	6
Sunderland, Rev. LaRoy	editor, 38	2
Sutton, Job S.	canemaker, 38	4
Tappan, Arthur & Co.	silkgoods, 38	1
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation	
Taylor, B.F.	Legible, not in	
Trencher, H.	Legible, not in	
Vanrenslaer, Thomas	victualler ("coloured"), 38	3
Waldo, C. & F.	No occupation	
Wallan, M.F.	Legible, not in	
Wallin, James H.	Legible, not in	
Wallin, Samuel	engraver, 38	4
Wallin, Samuel Jr.	Legible, not in	
Wallin, William	No occupation	
Wallins, Robert	Legible, not in	
Warner, James F.	printer, 38	4
Weld, Theodore D.	Legible, not in	
Wells, Asa	carpenter, 38	4
Wheelwright, John	merchant, 38	1
Whipple, Avery D.	printer, 37	4
White, Amos	Legible, not in	
Whiting, H.N.	Legible, not in	
Whiting, Seymour	dentist, 38	2
Whitney, George	No occupation	
Whitney, Henry	painter, 39	4
Wilbur, Jeremiah	No occupation	
Wilcox, Ezekiel H.	copperplate printer, 38	4
William, William	Legible, not in	
Williams, D.S.	Legible, not in	
Williams, Ranson G.	publisher, 37	2

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Wills, Darius	Legible, not in	
Wilson, James G.	steam planing mill, 38	4
Wisner, Isa C.	Legible, not in	
Woodhull, Thomas	carpenter, 39	4
Wooster, Benjamin	grocer, 38	3
Wooster, J. & W.S.	grocers, 37	3
Wright, Elizur Jr.	corr. secy. American Anti-Slavery Society, 38	2
Wright, Theodore S.	rev. ("coloured"), 37	2
Yates, James D.	tailor, 37	4

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Anthony, J.
Beach, W.
Clark, Daniel
Cole, William
Cook, John
Grant, James
Johnston, W.
Kellogg, Charles
King, Samuel
Lane, Anthony
Lane, Robert
Marshall, John
Mitchel, William
Mitchell, James
Mitchell, John
O'Donnell, James
Smith, Alfred
Smith, James
Smith, James
Smith, John G.
Smith, Joseph
Tracy, William
Tucker, George
Watson, E.
Williams, E.
Williams, Joseph
Wilson, Joseph
Wright, John

APPENDIX 15A

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Summary of All Signers (133): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	36	27.1
Legible, found, no occupation listed	4	3.
Legible, not in	46	34.6
Legible, too common	22	16.5
Illegible	25	18.8
Total	133	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (36)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	4	11.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	5	13.9
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	7	19.4
Artisans	17	47.2
Laborers and Cartmen	3	8.3
Total	36	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant	4	11.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
M. D.	2	5.6
clerk	1	2.8
landscape painter	1	2.8
translator	1	2.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	2	5.6
blocks and pumps	1	2.8
books	1	2.8
carriages	1	2.8

	Number	Percent
hats	1	2.8
victualler	1	2.8
Artisans:		
shoemaker (2), bootmaker (1)	3	8.3
smith	3	8.3
carpenter	3	8.3
painter	2	5.6
baker	1	2.8
cabinetmaker	1	2.8
gilder	1	2.8
jeweller	1	2.8
sashmaker	1	2.8
stovemaker	1	2.8
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	2	5.6
hatpresser	1	2.8
Total	36	100.4

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H1.8, Drawer #628, Bundle #18.

Note: Printed text. No duplicate signers. A total of 441 men and women signed this petition, as counted by the clerk in the House of Representatives. Only men who spelled out their first names were analyzed, however, because the sex of people who used initials could not be determined for certain.

APPENDIX 15B

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Abbot, William	Legible, not in	
Armstrong, Thomas	clerk, 38	2
Barry, William	victualler, 37	3
Bates, Alfred	Legible, not in	
Brown, George C.	Legible, not in	
Brown, Nathaniel	No occupation	
Brown, Peter	smith, 38	4
Burnett, Walter	Legible, not in	
Burnett, William L.	Legible, not in	
Burnett, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Burr, John	carriages, 39	3
Butler, John T.	painter, 38	4
Cherey, John	Legible, not in	
Cochran, Michael	Legible, not in	
Coyl, John Jr.	Legible, not in	
Creed, William D.	Legible, not in	
Crogan, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Croger, Peter	Legible, not in	
Cropper, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Davies, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Davis, Washington F.	sashmaker, 39	4
Drummond, Josiah	merchant, 39	1
Esterbrook, Richard	carpenter, 37	4
Francis, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Gerow, J.L. & H.A.	drygoods, 38	3
Goater, Charles	Legible, not in	
Godfrey, George	smith, 39	4
Godwell, William A.	Legible, not in	
Greenleaf, Alfred	Legible, not in	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Hackkett, John	Legible, not in	
Hall, Eli M.	Legible, not in	
Hallsey, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Hanson, John	blocks & pumps, 39	3
Harvey, William	stovemaker, 38	4
Henderson, Thomas	M.D., 38	2
Hodgson, Thomas	gilder, 38	4
Hutchinson, James F.	cabinetmaker, 38	4
Jackson, Thomas S.	Legible, not in	
Jenkins, Leo	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Anthony Jr.	Legible, not in	
Johnson, Anthony S.	shoemaker, 37	4
Johnson, Jerome B.	Legible, not in	
Kennedy, Samuel	M.D., 39	2
Kingsland, William W.	No occupation	
Lake, Samuel H.	Legible, not in	
Leslie, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Lester, Andrew	merchant, 38	1
Liddle, John B.	books, 38	3
Mann, Ibel	Legible, not in	
Mildeberger, John A.	No occupation	
Millar, James	hats, 37	3
Moody, Henry	Legible, not in	
Moody, John P.	shoemaker, 39	4
Morehouse, Calvin	Legible, not in	
Morehouse, Ed. A.	Legible, not in	
Nack, James	translator, 38	2
Nelson, Robert	landscape painter, 38	2
Phillips, Henry	merchant, 38	1
Potter, Frederick Aug.	Legible, not in	
Prince, James	painter 38	4
Rollin, Nelson	Legible, not in	
Ruggles, Charles H.	Legible, not in	
Scarlett, John	No occupation	
Schenk, Benjamin	Legible, not in	
Shepherd, Edward	baker, 38	4
Smith, John B.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Silvanus	Legible, not in	
Soane, Phillip	Legible, not in	
Squire, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Stewart, Charles	jeweller, 38	4
Strong, Calvin A.	Legible, not in	
Tappan, Francis A.	Legible, not in	
Taylor, Edward & Co.	merchants, 38	1
Thomas, William	carter, 38	5
Underwood, William	hatpresser, 39	5

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Waite, John	carter, 37	5
Waters, William	smith, 37	4
Williams, Cornelius	carpenter, 38	4
Williams, Henry	drygoods, 38	3
Williams, John P.	Legible, not in	
Williams, Philip	Legible, not in	
Willson, Daniel	Legible, not in	
Wilson, Alexander	bootmaker, 38	4
Winslow, William	carpenter, 38	4
Wyckoff, Richard L.	Legible, not in	
Wyckoff, Robert	Legible, not in	

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Brown, Edward
Brown, William
Carter, Robert
Horton, William
Jackson, William
Jackson, William
Johnson, Henry
Jones, James
Jones, Thomas
Lewis, John
Mason, John
Miller, John
Pattison, William
Reynolds, William
Sinclair, James
Smith, Andrew
Smith, Charles
Smith, John
Tyson, John
Watson, James
Watson, John
Williams, William

UMI

APPENDIX 16A

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Summary of All Signers (17): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	4	23.5
Legible, found, no occupation listed	1	5.9
Legible, not in	10	58.8
Legible, too common	0	0
Illegible	2	11.8
Total	17	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (4)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	1	25.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	0	0
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	2	50.
Artisans	0	0
Laborers and Cartmen	0	0
Other	1	25.
Total	4	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant	1	25.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
Shopkeepers and Proprietors		
grocer	1	25.
drugs	1	25.
Artisans		
Laborers and Cartmen		
Other		
waterman	1	25.
Total	4	100.

Source: Records of the National Archives, HR25A-H1.8, Drawer #628, Bundle #18.

Note: This petition was unique since it included the ages of most signers, probably because they were predominantly so young. Only five of the legible signers were over twenty-one. The age is included in parentheses after the name in Appendix B. No one twenty-one or under was in the Directories, suggesting an editorial policy of not including minors. Since most of these men were not in the Directories and since the petition was so small, it is not included in most calculations in this dissertation. In addition, since the addresses were also given, it is obvious that the males in two families signed. The Shapters, for example, all lived at the same address, although the elder Shapter was the only one in the Directory. Three Chiltons also signed; but they were all young and not in the Directories, although living at the same address.

UMI

APPENDIX 16B

Petition requesting the immediate abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 14, 1838

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Arthur, John B. (19?)[+]	Legible, not in	
Barlow, George (21)	Legible, not in	
Chilton, Robert S. (16)	Legible, not in	
Chilton, Washington (21)	Legible, not in	
Chilton, William W. (18)	Legible, not in	
Gillespie, Samuel (38)	No occupation	
Hustace, William (21)	Legible, not in	
Ireland, Joseph & Son (2_?)	grocers, 38	3
Lee, Thomas E. (19)	Legible, not in	
Shapter, Peter (54)	merchant, 38	1
Shapter, Peter Jr. (16)	Legible, not in	
Shapter, Samuel (19)	Legible, not in	
Vanblarcom, Andrew (34)	waterman, 37	6
Weir, James (30)	drugs, 39	3
Westervelt, J.Y. (21)	Legible, not in	

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

[+] This petition was unique since it included the ages of most signers, probably because they were predominantly so young. The age is included in parentheses after the name. See Appendix A for this petition.

APPENDIX 17A

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, slavery in the territory of Florida, and the inter-state slave trade, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 10, 1839

Summary of All Signers (597): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed[a]	326	54.6
Includes 41 normally too common		
9 normally illegible		
Legible, found, no occupation listed	24	4.
Includes 1 normally too common		
Legible, not in	131	21.9
Includes 21 normally too common		
Legible, too common	19	3.2
Illegible	97	16.2
Total	597	99.9

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (326)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	10	3.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	59	18.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	100	30.7
Artisans	130	39.9
Laborers and Cartmen	20	6.1
Other	7	2.1
Total	326	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant	9	2.8
auctioneer	1	.3
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
reverend	12	3.7
attorney (5), attorney and counselor (2)	7	2.1

UMI

	Number	Percent
teacher	6	1.8
agent (4), agent for the Christian Advocate and Journal of the Franklin Institute (1)	5	1.5
clerk	4	1.2
editor[b]	4	1.2
accountant	3	.9
physician (2), M. D. (1)	3	.9
dentist	2	.6
secretary (1), corresponding secretary (1)	2	.6
tract missionary	2	.6
broker	1	.3
city weigher	1	.3
collector	1	.3
exchange officer	1	.3
forwarder	1	.3
measurer of grain	1	.3
musician	1	.3
professor, N. Y. U.	1	.3
undertaker	1	.3
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer	17	5.2
drygoods	14	4.3
shoes (4), shoestore (1)	5	1.5
clothier	4	1.2
drugs (3), apothecary (1)	4	1.2
porterhouse	4	1.2
confectioners	3	.9
fruits	3	.9
books (1), bookseller (1)	2	.6
carpets	2	.6
furniture	2	.6
hats (1), straw hats (1)	2	.6
lumber (1), lumber yard (1)	2	.6
ready made linen	2	.6
umbrellas	2	.6
victualler	2	.6
blocks and pumps	1	.3
boardinghouse	1	.3
china	1	.3
fancy store	1	.3
feedstore	1	.3
furnishing hardware	1	.3
furs and hats	1	.3
leather	1	.3
liquors	1	.3
maps	1	.3
music	1	.3
oysters	1	.3
paints, etc.	1	.3
paperdealer	1	.3

	Number	Percent
paperhangings	1	.3
pocketbooks	1	.3
prints	1	.3
sawmill	1	.3
segars	1	.3
spices	1	.3
stages	1	.3
stereotype	1	.3
stocks	1	.3
store	1	.3
stoves	1	.3
tinware	1	.3
watches	1	.3
watchcases	1	.3
wines	1	.3
wine and tea	1	.3
Artisans:		
shoemaker (16), bootmaker (1)	17	5.2
carpenter	13	4.
tailor	11	3.4
printer	10	3.1
smith (3), tinsmith (3), coppersmith (1), silversmith (1)	8	2.5
baker (6), piebaker (1)	7	2.1
binder	7	2.1
cabinetmaker	5	1.5
machinist	4	1.2
painter (3), ornamental painter (1)	4	1.2
butcher	3	.9
engraver (2), wood engraver (1)	3	.9
mason	3	.9
bookbinder	2	.6
chairmaker	2	.6
hatter	2	.6
japanner	2	.6
jeweller	2	.6
account book manufacturers and stationers	1	.3
barber	1	.3
brushmaker	1	.3
capfront manufacturer	1	.3
caulker	1	.3
clockmaker	1	.3
corsetmaker	1	.3
dyer	1	.3
French hair manufactory	1	.3
glover	1	.3
hairdresser	1	.3
plasterer	1	.3
plumber	1	.3
reedmaker	1	.3
sashmaker	1	.3
shipwright	1	.3

UMI

	Number	Percent
silverplater	1	.3
slater	1	.3
stockmaker	1	.3
stonecutter	1	.3
stovemaker	1	.3
turner	1	.3
umbrellamaker	1	.3
watchmaker	1	.3
weaver	1	.3
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	13	4.
hatpresser	2	.6
clothesdresser	1	.3
mariner	1	.3
porter	1	.3
sawyer	1	.3
whitewasher	1	.3
Other:		
sexton	3	.9
fishmonger	1	.3
milkman	1	.3
readingroom	1	.3
waterman	1	.3
Total	326	98.8

Source: Records of the National Archives, Drawer #630, Bundle #29.

Note: Printed text. Four duplicate signers. The date February 10 is written on the back of this petition but no year. It was however packed with petitions from 1839. In addition, one petition from New York City opposing any new slave states was dated February 10, 1839, and contained many of the same names, including the same first signer. In a few instances after 1837 it appears that several antislavery petitions on different subjects were passed around to the same people. Both of these petitions were also sent to Congressman Hoffman.

Since most of the names on this petition were accompanied by addresses, it was possible to identify men in the Directories who otherwise could not have been distinguished because of their common names. On the other hand, the addresses meant that some of the men who normally would have been "too common" were "legible, not in" because the addresses would have provided a means of distinguishing them if they had been in the Directories. Likewise, the addresses permitted the identification of a few men who would otherwise have been "illegible".

[a] See note.

[b] Two editors were also ministers--LaRoy Sunderland and Nathaniel E. Johnson.

APPENDIX 17B

Petition against slavery in the District of Columbia, slavery in the territory of Florida, and the inter-state slave trade, tabled in the House of Representatives on February 10, 1839

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category*
Adams, Samuel (normally too common)[+]	printer, 39	4
Addington, William	Legible, not in	
Anderson, Archibald	Legible, not in	
Anderson, Henry (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Austin, Frederich J.	machinist, 39	4
Austin, Julius	Legible, not in	
Ayers, Reuben	hats, 39	3
Bacheler, Origen	Legible, not in	
Bailey, John	caulker, 39	4
Baldwin, Charles J.	Legible, not in	
Baley, York	Legible, not in	
Ballard, Lewis	drygoods, 40	3
Bancroft, Oliver	Legible, not in	
Banning, Alpheus	baker, 39	4
Barker, James W.	drygoods, 39	3
Barkley, James	grocer, 39	3

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

[+] Since most of the names on this petition were accompanied by addresses, it was possible to identify men in the Directories who otherwise could not have been distinguished because of their common names. On the other hand, the addresses meant that some of the men who normally would have been "too common" were "legible, not in" because the address would have provided a means of distinguishing them if they had been in the Directories. Likewise, the addresses permitted the identification of a few men who would otherwise have been "illegible".

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Barndollar, John S.	binder, 39	4
Barney, Hiram	attorney, 39	2
Barnum, Lewis G.	Legible, not in	
Beekman, Benjamin P.	Legible, not in	
Beesley, Isaiah	painter, 39	4
Bell, Abraham & Co.	merchants, 39	1
Bench, William	Legible, not in	
Benedict, Samuel W.	No occupation	
Benjamin, John	No occupation	
Berger, Charles F.	ornamental painter, 39	4
Berthelot, R.C.	Legible, not in	
Betts, Henry	shoemaker, 38	4
Billings, Moses	shoemaker, 39	4
Birney, James G.	corr. secy., 39	2
Bishop, Edward T.	Legible, not in	
Bishop, William (normally too common)	corsetmaker, 39	4
Blake, Isaac W.	grocer, 39	3
Bokee, Abraham	measurer of grain, 40	2
Bourne, George	rev., 39	2
Bradley, William	fruits, 39	3
Brewster, Mason S.	attorney, 40	2
Brickley, Thomas E.	baker, 39	4
Brink, L.	Legible, not in	
Brisbin, Robert C.	rev., 39	2
Brooks, Edwin B.	attorney & counselor, 39	2
Brouner, Jacob H.	rev., 39	2
Brower, L.M.	Legible, not in	
Brown, Andrew A.	drygoods, 39	3
Brown, Elijah H.	grocer, 39	3
Brown, James (normally too common)	weaver, 39	4
Brown, John F.	capfront manufacturer, 39	4
Brown, John H.	pocketbooks, 39	3
Brownell, Benjamin S.	Legible, not in	
Brummagem, John	Legible, not in	
Brush, Valentine	shoemaker, 39	4
Burge, Edward	Legible, not in	
Burgess, Benjamin F.	french hair manufactory,39	4
Burgess, Sylvester H.	carpenter, 40	4
Burrowes, Edward	Legible, not in	
Butler, Ezekiel	Legible, not in	
Byrd, George J.	plumber, 39	4
Byrnes, Henry	shoemaker, 38	4
Cady, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Cain, Claiborne W.	watchmaker, 39	4
Cain, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Camp, Nathan	teacher, 38	2
Campbell, Richard (normally too common)	tailor, 38	4

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Carson, Joseph	sawyer, 38	5
Carter, Henry	Legible, not in	
Carter, John (normally too common)	grocer ("coloured"), 39	3
Carter, Rev. Joseph (normally too common)	rev., 38	2
Chadwick, James	tinsmith, 39	4
Chalmers, James	dyer, 39	4
Chambers, Thomas H.	music, 38	3
Chambers, William (normally too common)	grocer, 39	3
Chapman, John	stockmaker, 39	4
Cheeseman, J. & J. (normally too common)	binders, 38	4
Child, George	grocer, 39	3
Childs, Benjamin F.	wood engraver, 39	4
Chittenden, Robert	No occupation	
Cisco, Henry	Legible, not in	
Clark, Cornelius	carter, 39	5
Clark, J.W. (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Clark, Matthias	drygoods, 39	3
Clark, Patrick	grocer, 39	3
Clark, Samuel (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Clark, Thomas (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Clover, Edward	baker, 39	4
Coddington, John	city weigher, 39	2
Colton, Calvin	No occupation	
Colton, Joseph H.	maps, 39	3
Conover, Isaac C.	Legible, not in	
Conway, Bernard	Legible, not in	
Cook, Edward C.	No occupation	
Coolidge & Lambert	account book manufacturers and stationers, 38	4
Coolidge, William P.	Legible, not in	
Corlies, H.P. & C.	merchants, 38	1
Cornish, J.T.	Legible, not in	
Corse, Barney	No occupation	
Cortelyou, Peter L.	feedstore, 39	3
Coutant, Ebern H.	carter, 39	5
Cox, John	furniture, 39	3
Cragin, Benjamin F.	paints etc., 39	3
Crampton, Henry E.	carpenter, 39	4
Crane, Caleb C.	waterman, 39	6
Cronkhite, James P.	merchant, 38	1
Crowell, Joseph B.	shoemaker, 40	4
Cunning, John	Legible, not in	
Curtis, Nelson H.	printer, 39	4
Curtiss, Charles	grocer, 39	3

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Daly, John	machinist, 38	4
Dando, Stephen	agent for Christian Advocate & Journal of the Franklin Institute, 39	2
Daniels, Joseph	tailor, 38	4
Dansher, William H.	Legible, not in	
Darby, Frederick	coppersmith, 39	4
Darragh, William	tinsmith, 39	4
Davidson, John (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Davies, David	clothier, 39	3
Davies, George	Legible, not in	
Davies, Luke (normally too common)	shoemaker, 38	4
Davies, Luke (normally too common)	physician, 39	2
Davis, Henry (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Day, Robert	tinsmith, 40	4
Delavan, Christian S. (normally illegible)+	furnishing hardware, 39	3
Demarest, James B.	tailor, 40	4
Demarest, William R.	Legible, not in	
Denike, Willett	drygoods, 39	3
Denison, Edward J.	Legible, not in	
Devoe, Leonard	bootmaker, 40	4
Dewey, Joseph S.	blocks & pumps, 39	3
Dewey, Loring D.	rev., 39	2
Dill, Vincent L.	stereotype, 39	3
Dillon, John	dentist, 39	2
Dimond, Isaac M.	silversmith, 39	4
Donaldson, James T.	No occupation	
Dorr, William S.	printer, 39	4
Douglas, L.	Legible, not in	
Douglass, Duncan	carpenter, 39	4
Douglass, Neal	Legible, not in	
Dow, James G.	grocer, 38	3

+Since most of the names on this petition were accompanied by addresses, it was possible to identify men in the Directories who otherwise could not have been distinguished because of their common names. On the other hand, the addresses meant that some of the men who normally would have been "too common" were "legible, not in" because the address would have provided a means of distinguishing them if they had been in the Directories. Likewise, the addresses permitted the identification of a few men who would otherwise have been "illegible".

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Downs, Rensselaer	carter, 38	5
Dugan, James	porterhouse, 39	3
Duggan, Archibald	Legible, not in	
Dye, Clarkson	sashmaker, 39	4
Eato, Timothy	Legible, not in	
Edsall, Daniel	carpenter, 38	4
Edwards, Alexander	Legible, not in	
Edwards, John (normally too common)	stonecutter, 39	4
Edwards, Thomas (normally too common)	tailor, 39	4
Elliott, John	clerk, 40	2
Ely, Henry G.	Legible, not in	
Estey, James L.	printer, 39	4
Evans, George (normally too common)	wines, 38	3
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer, 39	4
Fanshaw, William D.	Legible, not in	
Farr, James W. (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Feitner, Charles	milkman, 38	6
Fellener, C.	Legible, not in	
Fessenden, Thomas	attorney & counselor, 38	2
Field, Thomas F. & Co.	china, 39	3
Fields, Lucius	stoves, 39	3
Finch, Mark	Legible, not in	
Finch, Myron	teacher, 39	2
Fitzsimons, Edward	porterhouse, 40	3
Flanders, Joseph	drygoods, 38	3
Flint, George A.	Legible, not in	
Flint, Nathaniel S.	Legible, not in	
Floy, James	Legible, not in	
Foley, Patrick	porterhouse, 39	3
Folger, William B.	engraver, 39	4
Foster, S.S. (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Foster, Samuel F.	agent, 40	2
Fowler, Jeremiah L.	chairmaker, 39	4
Fowler, Laurence G.	carter, 40	5
Fox, Charles (normally too common)	shoes, 39	3
Franks, Josiah J.	accountant, 38	2
Franks, William	brushmaker, 39	4
Freeland, Samuel (normally illegible)	painter, 38	4
Frost, Samuel (normally too common)	drygoods, 39	3
Gant, Fielding S. (normally illegible)	bookbinder, 39	4
Gaston, William	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Gilbert, Lyman W.	No occupation	
Gillet, August I.	Legible, not in	
Gilmore, Godfrey	clerk, 39	2
Godby, Robert L.	turner, 38	4
Gold, Andrew	Legible, not in	
Gould, Cornelius D.	carter, 38	5
Graham, Joseph Sr.	No occupation	
Gray, Epenetus C.	attorney, 39	2
Gray, Nathaniel	tract missionary, 39	2
Greacen, John	No occupation	
Green, Elisha B. (normally illegible)	carpenter, 38	4
Gunn, Alexander N.	M.D., 39	2
Gunn, John	liquor, 39	3
Gurney, D.C.	Legible, not in	
Hanan, Henry	Legible, not in	
Hanan, John	Legible, not in	
Hannan, William	Legible, not in	
Hannegan, Peter	Legible, not in	
Harris, David T.	No occupation	
Harris, Joseph	japanner, 39	4
Harrison, Henry	hatter, 39	4
Harrison, James (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Harvey, William	stovemaker, 39	4
Harwood, Archibald	paperhangings, 39	3
Hatt, William	Legible, not in	
Hawley, Walter	exchange officer, 38	2
Hayes, Henry H.	binder, 39	4
Haynes, Thomas	glover, 39	4
Hebbard, Oliver	Legible, not in	
Heidkamp, Charles	binder, 39	4
Helms, John B., M.D.	physician, 39	2
Higgins, A. & E.S.	carpets, 38	3
Higgins, Edward	Legible, not in	
Hill, Cornelius	clerk, 38	2
Hodes, Willie	Legible, not in	
Hodges, William J.	No occupation	
Hogbin, Robert	tinware, 39	3
Holdredge, William (signed twice)	merchant, 38	1
Holt, E.	Legible, not in	
Holton, J. Farwell	Legible, not in	
Homan, Charles	tailor, 39	4
Homan, George W.	stages, 39	3
Hopkins, Samuel	No occupation	
Horn, Peter A.	binder, 39	4
Hotchkiss, Alva	clockmaker, 39	4
Houghtaling, Cornelius J.	Legible, not in	
Houseworth, Thomas	baker, 39	4

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Housman, Henry	Legible, not in	
Howell, Daniel	shoes, 39	3
Hoyt, Calvin	Legible, not in	
Hubbard, Joel M.	stocks, 39	3
Hudson, John L.	Legible, not in	
Hunt, Ralph (normally too common)	agent, 38	2
Huntington, David I.	watches, 39	3
Huntington, W.B.	Legible, not in	
Irving, Washington	Legible, not in	
Jackson, Thomas (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Jamieson, Samuel	forwarder, 38	2
Jaques, Isaac (signed twice and normally too common)	No occupation	
Jaques, William H.	Legible, not in	
Jaquith, Nathaniel	drygoods, 39	3
Jay, John (signed twice)	attorney, 39	2
Jeffers, James	piebaker ("coloured"), 39	4
Jennings, Samuel B.	printer, 39	4
Jinnings, Jaques W.	Legible, not in	
Jinnings, Thomas L.	clothier, 39	3
Johnson, James (normally too common)	drygoods, 39	3
Johnson, Nathaniel E.	rev., editor, 39	2
Johnson, Samuel (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Jollie, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Jones, Darius E.	musician, 39	2
Joy, J. Addison	straw hats, 38	3
Judd, James L.	Legible, not in	
Kane, George	japanner, 39	4
Keeler, Lonzo M.	No occupation	
Kelsey, Melville	carpets, 40	3
Kendall, Isaac C.	merchant, 39	1
Kent, John E.	drugs, 39	3
Kerr, Henry A.	wine & tea, 39	3
King, Henry (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Knight, Thomas M.	Legible, not in	
Lackford, C.B.	Legible, not in	
Laimbeer, William	mason, 39	4
Langdon, Gidney	carpenter, 39	4
Lashman, Francis	Legible, not in	
Lawrence, Joseph W.	Legible, not in	
Leake, Hewlett P.	leather, 39	3
Lederman, George	shoemaker, 39	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Leeds, Samuel Jr.	No occupation	
Lewis, Charles	machinist, 39	4
Lewis, William (normally too common)	porterhouse, 38	3
Lewis, William N. (normally too common)	butcher, 39	4
Little, Andrew	tailor, 39	4
Little, George J.	Legible, not in	
Livermore, Dexter	cabinetmaker, 40	4
Lockwood, Roe	books, 39	3
Lockwood, Rufus	teacher, 39	2
Long, Jacob	shoes, 39	3
Lord, Francis P.	Legible, not in	
McCan, William	Legible, not in	
McClain, Edward	chairmaker, 39	4
McClean, Edward A.	drugs, 38	3
McCollum, Edward	tailor, 39	4
McCormick, Richard C.	secretary, 39	2
McDonald, D. (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
McGeagh, John	grocer, 39	3
McKenzie, George	hatter, 38	4
McNamee, Theodore	merchant, 39	1
McWilliams, James H.	drygoods, 39	3
Macdonald, Alexander (normally too common)	umbrellas, 39	3
Manchester, P.B.	attorney, 39	2
Mangles, Cordt (normally illegible)	confectioner, 38	3
Mann, Albert	Legible, not in	
Martin, William C.	printer, 39	4
Maze, Abraham	bookseller, 39	3
Merritt, John C.	merchant, 39	1
Meryweather, G.	Legible, not in	
Miles, Earl E.	clothier, 39	3
Miller, George L. (normally too common)	furniture, 38	3
Miller, Humphrys	Legible, not in	
Miller, William (normally too common)	jeweller, 39	4
Miller, William G.	rev., 39	2
Mills, William (normally too common)	tailor, 39	4
Minor, Israel	drugs, 39	3
Moe, B.B.	Legible, not in	
Moore, Daniel	cabinetmaker, 39	4
Moore, Henry S. (normally too common)	bookbinder, 38	4
Moore, James (normally too common)	Legible, not in	

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Moore, Richard (normally too common)	shoemaker, 38	4
Moran, P.D.	Legible, not in	
Morgan, William (normally illegible)	collector, 38	2
Morrell, Richard	shipwright, 39	4
Morse, Ezekiel W.	No occupation	
Muir, William H.	lumber, 40	3
Murphy, Barnard	carter, 39	5
Nash, William F.	shoemaker, 39	4
Neill, William	Legible, not in	
Nicholas, William L.	Legible, not in	
Nichols, John (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Nichols, Lemuel	Legible, not in	
Niles, George W.	carpenter, 38	4
Niles, William W.	rev., 38	2
Norris, Charles G.	Legible, not in	
Odell, Edmund C.	Legible, not in	
O'Neil, Edward	Legible, not in	
Orrell, Edward	reedmaker, 39	4
Osborne, Lewis K.	mason, 39	4
Osborne, Milo	engraver, 39	4
Ostrander, Morris	Legible, not in	
Owen, John J.	rev., 39	2
Paine, J.E.	Legible, not in	
Palmer, Elias	carter, 39	5
Palmer, Stephen (normally too common)	grocer, 38	3
Park, Jesse K.	binder, 40	4
Parker, Asa	cabinetmaker, 38	4
Parker, James H.	Legible, not in	
Patterson, Joseph	carter, 39	5
Paulson, George Henry	editor, 40	2
Penkins, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Penniman, Henry H.	No occupation	
Perkins, Jacob	segars, 39	3
Pesinger, Jacob	butcher, 39	4
Petrie, John	shoemaker, 39	4
Pettit, Baldwin	shoemaker, 39	4
Pierce, Isaac	Legible, not in	
Pillow, William H.	hat presser, 39	5
Pine & Soper (normally too common)	drygoods, 38	3
Plet, Cherry L.	barber, 39	4
Pontoue, Paul (normally illegible)	oysters, 39	3
Pope, Charles Jr.	undertaker, 39	2
Pratt, Charles G.	Legible, not in	

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Price, Cyrus W.	painter, 39	4
Price, Thomas	grocer, 39	3
Putnam, Lewis	whitewasher("coloured"),38	5
Pyne, James A.	prints, 39	3
Quackinbush,Jonathan C.	porter, 38	5
Quick, Teunis	No occupation	
Rackett, Henry S.	grocer, 39	3
Rand, John W.	teacher, 39	2
Rand, Thomas Jr.	teacher, 40	2
Randal, Philip B.	hatpresser, 39	5
Ray, Charles	No occupation, ("coloured"), 39	
Raymond, J.T.	rev. ("coloured"), 39	2
Reed, John J.	printer, 39	4
Richmond, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Ripple, Martin	tailor, 39	4
Ripple, Peter	Legible, not in	
Robinson, Daniel (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Rock, Abraham	Legible, not in	
Rogers, Stephen N.	shoemaker, 40	4
Root, Milo	sexton, 39	6
Roughton, James	hairdresser, 38	4
Ruggles, David	readingroom ("coloured"),39	6
Rush, Christopher	fruits ("coloured"), 39	3
Rusher, Josiah H.	silverplater, 40	4
Russell, Samuel Jr.	tract missionary, 39	2
Ryckman, Robert W.	shoemaker, 39	4
Sands, Daniel H.	paperdealer, 39	3
Sanderson, Thomas R.	grocer, 39	3
Sanger, Joseph T.	fancy store, 39	3
Savery, John S.	sexton, 39	6
Sawyer, Thomas J.	rev., 39	2
Saxton, Amos	Legible, not in	
Schouten, Abraham	tailor, 39	4
Scott, Leonard	agent, 38	2
Seaman, Samuel	grocer, 39	3
Sears, Robert (signed twice)	printer, 39	4
Sellew, Timothy G. (normally illegible)	cabinetmaker, 38	4
Sexton, Edwin	auctioneer, 39	1
Sharpe, Hezekiah D.	No occupation	
Shear, Abraham M.	smith, 39	4
Shepherd, William (normally too common)	smith, 39	4
Sheppard, Robert	Legible, not in	
Sheridan, Thomas (normally too common)	slater, 39	4

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Sherwood, Oran	lumberyard, 39	3
Shippey, William	accountant, 39	2
Simmons, James	merchant, 38	1
Simon, Thomas L.	Legible, not in	
Smith, Alfred W.	ready made linens, 39	3
Smith, Bartlett	carpenter, 39	4
Smith, Benajah (normally too common)	fishmonger, 38	6
Smith, Benjamin F.	Legible, not in	
Smith, James (normally too common)	printer, 38	4
Smith, John J.	shoemaker, 39	4
Smith, Joseph (normally too common)	umbrellamaker, 39	4
Smith, Morris	Legible, not in	
Smith, William C.	machinist, 39	4
Snowden, John	apothecary, 39	3
Southard, Nathaniel	editor, 39	2
Spader, John W.	umbrellas, 39	3
Spinning, John H.	binder, 38	4
Starkweather, Asa	boardinghouse, 39	3
Stivers, Thomas	carpenter, 39	4
Storrs, George	rev., 39	2
Stoutenborough, Alfred	drygoods, 39	3
Sullivan, Hugh	Legible, not in	
Summerbell, Nicholas	tailor, 38	4
Sunderland, LaRoy	rev., editor, 39	2
Sylwere, Joseph	clothier ("coloured"), 39	3
Taber, Thomas Jr.	jeweller, 39	4
Talbot, Charles N.	No occupation	
Tappan, Henry P.	prof., N.Y.U., 39	2
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation	
Taylor, John L.	carter, 39	5
Teasdale, William R.	cabinetmaker, 38	4
Thompson, J.H. (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Thompson, Vernon	teacher, 39	2
Tilley, John	carter, 39	5
Tirnell, N. Quincey	Legible, not in	
Titchener, Henry & Edmund	confectioners, 39	3
Titchener, Henry & Edmund	confectioners, 39	3
Tompkins, Elias S.	shoemaker, 39	4
Tooker, Lewis	carter, 39	5
Tracy, William (normally too common)	watchcases, 38	3
Troutt, Benjamin	carter, 39	5
Tweddale, Garlies M. (normally illegible)	accountant, 38	2
Tyson, Isaac	victualler, 39	3

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Uhler, Martin	shoemaker, 39	4
Underhill, Isaac	carter, 39	5
Upham, Lathrop	Legible, not in	
Utter, James	shoes, 39	3
Utter, Thomas	carpenter, 39	4
Vanrenslaer, Thomas	victualler("coloured"),39	3
Very, L.	Legible, not in	
Wade, James M.	spices, 39	3
Waldo, E.F.	Legible, not in	
Warren, Thomas T.	carpenter, 39	4
Waterbury, Benjamin	ready made linen, 39	3
Waters, Martin	fruits, 39	3
Watson, William (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Watters, Samuel S.	grocer, 39	3
Wenzel, Henry	sawmill, 39	3
West, William G.	furs & hats, 39	3
Westerfeld, Charles	Legible, not in	
White, George C.	clerk, 39	2
Whitehand, John	butcher, 40	4
Whiting, Seymour (normally too common)	dentist, 39	2
Whitney, Hezekiah	Legible, not in	
Wiggins, James (normally too common)	shoestore, 39	3
Wilbur, Jeremiah	No occupation	
Wilcox, Ezekiel H.	agent, 39	2
Wildman, Thomas	Legible, not in	
Willcox, Albert O.	merchant, 39	1
Willcox, Edwin	drygoods, 39	3
Williams, Henry (normally too common)	drygoods, 38	3
Williams, Jacob	Legible, not in	
Williams, John N.	broker, 39	2
Williams, Joseph (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Williams, Thomas (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Williams, William (normally too common)	carpenter, 38	4
Willmore, Charles	Legible, not in	
Wilson, Joseph (normally too common)	carpenter, 38	4
Wilson, Stephen (normally too common)	Legible, not in	
Windstandley, William	mason, 39	4
Witt, Harvey	sexton, 39	6
Woodworth, S.H.S. & F.A.	store, 40	3
Wooster, Benjamin	grocer, 39	3
Worthington, Thomas	clothesdresser, 39	5

Name	Occupation	Occupational Category
Wright, Garret	baker, 38	4
Wright, George	smith, 40	4
Wright, Theodore S.	rev. ("coloured"), 39	2
Young, Alexander (normally too common)	baker, 40	4
Young, James (normally too common)	plasterer, 39	4
Young, William (normally too common)	mariner, 39	5

Signers with Names Too Common to Identify

Blackett, John
Brown, Charles
Butler, Henry
Curtis, Joseph
Earle, Edward
Gaston, B.
Greig, George
Kerr, James
Lawrence, John
Martin, John
Moran, John
Nesbitt, James
Norris, Thomas
Pattison, Thomas
Smith, Andrew
Taylor, John
Walker, William
Wells, J.
White, G.

APPENDIX 18A

Men who signed more than one petition against slavery in the District of Columbia from New York City, 1829-1839

Summary of Men who Signed More than One Antislavery Petition (220): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	187	85.0
Legible, found, no occupation listed	16	7.3
Legible, not in	17	7.7
Total	220	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (187)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	18	9.6
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	57	30.5
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	40	21.4
Artisans	65	34.6
Laborers and Cartmen	4	2.1
Other	3	1.6
Total	187	99.8

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchants (15), silkgoods (1)[a]	16	8.6
auctioneer	2	1.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
reverend	11	5.9
editor (3)[b], editor, *Genius of Temperance* (1), editor, *Commercial Advertiser* (1), *New York Observer* (1), publisher (1)	7	3.7
attorney and counselor (5), attorney (2)	7	3.7
M. D. (3), M. D. and surgeon (1) M. D. and drugs (1), botanic physician (1)	6	3.2

	Number	Percent
agent (2), agent for *Christian* Advocate (1), agent Am. Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1), lime co. agent (1)	5	2.7
clerk	4	2.1
teacher	4	2.1
broker	3	1.6
tract missionary	2	1.1
corr. sect. A. S. C.[c]	1	.5
dentist	1	.5
deputy American Tract Society	1	.5
inspector of beef	1	.5
measurer of grain	1	.5
musician	1	.5
professor[d]	1	.5
secretary	1	.5
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	6	3.2
leather store (5), Leather (1)	6	3.2
grocer	4	2.1
bookstore (2), bookseller (1)	3	1.6
confectioner	2	1.1
druggist	2	1.1
shoes	2	1.1
clothier	1	.5
crockery	1	.5
fancy store	1	.5
findings	1	.5
flourstore	1	.5
fruits	1	.5
hats	1	.5
paperdealer	1	.5
porterhouse	1	.5
prints	1	.5
ready made linens	1	.5
stereotype	1	.5
tinware	1	.5
wool dealer	1	.5
victualler	1	.5
Artisans:		
printer (8), printer and books (1)	9	4.8
shoemaker (6), bootmaker (2)	8	4.3
watchmaker (7), clock and watchmaker (1)	8	4.3
carpenter	7	3.7
baker (2), piebaker (1)	3	1.6
hatter	3	1.6
tailor (2), merchant tailor (1)	3	1.6
bookbinder	2	1.1
currier	2	1.1
account book manufacturer	1	.5
brush manufacturer	1	.5
builder	1	.5

	Number	Percent
cabinetmaker	1	.5
chairmaker	1	.5
engraver	1	.5
machinist	1	.5
manufacturer	1	.5
painter	1	.5
paperstainer	1	.5
planemaker	1	.5
sailmaker	1	.5
shipjoiner	1	.5
silversmith	1	.5
steam planing mill	1	.5
stereotyper	1	.5
stockmaker	1	.5
stovemaker	1	.5
tinsmith	1	.5
typecutter	1	.5
Laborers and Cartmen:		
hatpresser (1), leghorn hat presser (1)	2	1.1
carter	1	.5
porter	1	.5
Other:		
dryer	1	.5
reading room	1	.5
sexton	1	.5
Total	187	98.4

Source: Appendices: 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Note: The above occupational breakdown is based on the latest occupation of each man. When the earliest occupation is used, there is a minimal change: merchants, 916%; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials, 29.9%; shopkeepers and proprietors, 18.7%; artisans, 38.%; laborers and cartmen, 2.1%; other, 1.6%.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listing would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

[b] Two editors were also ministers--LaRoy Sunderland and Joshua Leavitt.

[c] This man is Elizur Wright, Jr., at this time secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Perhaps there is a

typographical error in the abbreviation.

[d] This professor, George Bush, was also a minister.

APPENDIX 18B

Men who signed more than one petition against slavery in the District of Columbia from New York City, 1829-1839

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category*	Petitions[+]
Addington, William R.	clerk	2	10,17
Axford, John	printer	4	10,13
Bacheler, Origen	Legible, not in		14,17
Backus, William	carpenter	4	5,10
Ball, Alonzo S.	M.D.	2	10,13
Banning, Alpheus	baker	4	14,17
Barker, George R.	broker	2	10,13
Barker, James W.	drygoods	3	13,17
Barney, Hiram	attorney	2	14,17
Bartlett, John	leather store	3	5,9
Beach, William	No occupation		8,9
Beale, Joseph H.	No occupation		8,11
Benedict, Samuel W.	watchmaker	4	5,8,9,10,17
Berrien, Daniel	brush manuf.	4	5,11
Betts, Henry	shoemaker	4	13,17
Blackford, William H.	watchmaker	4	9,13
Blatchford, Samuel M.	merchant	1	5,8
Bokee, Abraham	measurer of grain	2	10,14,17
Bourne, George	rev.	2	10,13,14,17
Bowne, Thomas P.	auctioneer	1	5,8
Braine, Daniel	wool dealer	3	9,12
Brewster, Joseph	hatter	4	7,10
Brewster, Mason S.	attorney	2	13,17
Brinkerhoff, Walter	bookbinder	4	5,9
Brooks, Edwin L.B.	att. & couns.	2	14,17
Brown, Elijah H.	grocer	3	5,17
Bryan, Thomas	dryer	6	5,14
Bush, George	professor	2	5,14
Byrnes, Henry	bootmaker	4	5,12,17
Cain, Claiborne W.	watchmaker	4	12,17
Carpenter, Elisha	clerk	2	5,14

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

[+] Numbers indicate appendices in which petitions are located.

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Carter, Henry	No occupation		13,17
Chambers, Miles	tailor	4	8,9,10
Chase, Henry	rev.	2	9,10
Child, George	grocer	3	10,17
Churchill, William H.	Legible, not in		10,12
Clark, John W.	shipjoiner	4	10,17
Clark, Matthias	drygoods	3	10,17
Clarke, George L.	Legible, not in		13,14
Clowes, Valentine	porter	5	5,11
Collins, Charles B.	merchant	1	5,8,9,13
Colton, Calvin	bookbinders	4	10,13,17
Conover, Isaac C.	Legible, not in		13,17
Coolidge, William T.	acc't. bk. manuf.	4	8,10,11,17
Cornish, Samuel E.	rev.	2	5,12,13,14
Corse, Barney	currier	4	5,9,12,17
Corse, Israel	leather store	3	5,9
Corse, William	leather	3	9,12
Cox, Abraham L.	M.D. & surgeon	2	8,13,14
Crane, John C.	shoes	3	9,10
Cromwell, Charles T.	att. & couns.	2	5,8
Cromwell, Daniel	carpenter	4	5,8
Dando, Stephen	agent for *Christian Advocate*	2	8,17
Davies, Luke Sr.	shoemaker	4	5,13,17
Davis, Cornelius	teacher	2	13,14
Davis, Henry	carpenter	4	5,17
Davison, Henry W.	Legible, not in		12,13,14
Day, Mahlon	printer & books	4	5,8,9
Devinnè, Daniel	rev.	2	13,14
Dewey, Loring D.	rev.	2	7,8,12,17
Dill, Vincent L.	stereotype	3	5,17
Dimond, Isaac M.	silversmith	4	10,13,14,17
Doolittle, Arastus	botanic physician	2	9,13
Dorr, William S.	printer	4	10,14,17
Dudley, William E.	lime co. agent	2	8,11
Dunbar, Duncan	rev.	2	13,14
Dupont, John H.	shoemaker	4	10,12
Durfee, Charles	No occupation		12,14
Edwards, Alfred	merchant	1	7,8
Elmendorf, Jacob B.	painter	4	8,10
Elston, Alexander	bootmaker ("coloured")	4	5,12
Ely, Henry	Legible, not in		10,13,14,17
Falconer, Samuel	shoemaker	4	5,9
Fanshaw, Charles	stockmaker	4	8,12
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer	4	9,10,17
Farr, James W.	planemaker	4	10,14,17
Fellows, John	No occupation		8,10
Fessenden, Thomas Greene	att. & couns.	2	5,17

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Field, Richard	merchant	1	5,9
Finch, Myron	teacher	2	12,17
Fisher, Abijah	merchant	1	7,8
Foley, Patrick	porterhouse	3	5,17
Foster, Samuel F.	agent	2	13,17
Fowler, Jeremiah L.	chairmaker	4	14,17
Fraser, Oris	Legible, not in		12,13
French, James H.	paperstainer	4	5,14
Gibbons, James	clerk	2	11,14
Gibson, James R.	No occupation		7,8
Giffin, Charles H.	leather store	3	5,9
Gilbert, Lyman W.	No occupation		14,17
Goodell, William	editor Genius of Temperance	2	7,8,9
Gray, John A.C.	drygoods	3	10,12,13
Gray, Nathaniel	tract missionary	2	14,17
Green, William Jr.	merchant	1	8,10
Hall, John B.	Commercial Advertiser	2	5,9
Harris, John H.	hatter	4	5,9
Harvey, William	stovemaker	4	15,17
Hawley, Joseph	M.D.	2	13,14
Hicks, Robert M.	merchant	1	5,9
Hogbin, Robert	tinware	3	13,14
Holbrook, Lowell	merchant	1	7,8
Holdredge, William	merchant	1	10,17
Holt, Henry A.	No occupation		12,14
Hopper, Isaac T.	bookstore	3	8,9
Howe, George C.	watchmaker	4	5,11
Hunter, Charles F.	hatpresser	5	5,12
Jackson, Solomon H.	printer	4	9,11
Jeffers, James	piebaker ("coloured")	4	13,17
Jennings, Samuel B.	printer	4	9,17
Jinnings, Thomas L.	clothier	3	5,10,12,17
Johnson, William P.	findings	3	5,12
Jones, Darius E.	musician	2	10,12,14,17
Jones, Jacob P.	stereotyper	4	5,14
Joycelyn, Simeon S.	Legible, not in		9,10,13
Kemp, Edward	shoes	3	9,12
Ketcham, James	watchmaker	4	5,8,9
Lancaster, John	tinsmith	4	9,10
Leake, Hewlett P.	leather	3	10,17
Leavitt, Rev. Joshua	editor	2	8,14
Leggett, Thomas Jr.	merchant	1	5,8
Lewis, Charles	machinist	4	9,17
Little, George D.	No occupation		10,14,17
Lobdell, Jerome B.	printer	4	10,13
Lockwood, Roe	bookseller	3	5,17

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Loines, William	carpenter	4	5,12
Ludlow, Henry G.	rev.	2	5,10
McClean, Edward A.	druggist	3	13,14,17
McCormick, Richard C.	secretary	2	8,10,14,17
McLean, Edward	manufacturer	4	5,9
Marquand, Josiah P.	No occupation		10,13
Marsh, Evert	currier	4	5,9
Maxwell, John	sailmaker	4	9,12
Metford, Francis	clerk	2	10,14
Miller, Samuel	watchmaker	4	5,8
Moore, J.K.	books	3	8,9
Morse, Richard C.	*New York Observer*	2	8,9
Mulford, Jacob S.	Legible, not in		10,13
Nelson, Thomas S.	merchant	1	7,8
Nicholas, William L.	carpenter	4	5,17
Niles, William W.	rev.	2	8,13,14,17
Page, Harlan	dep. American Tract Society	2	5,8
Parker, Asa	cabinetmaker	4	5,13,14,17
Parker, James H.	Legible, not in		12,13,14,17
Patton, William	rev.	2	8,14
Pickering, Joseph S.	att. & couns.	2	9,14
Piercy, Henry R.	printer	4	8,9,13,14
Pillow, William H.	leghorn hat presser	5	10,17
Pratt, Charles G.	Legible, not in		12,17
Pyatt, Francis	shoemaker	4	10,13
Pyne, James A.	prints	3	10,13,17
Rankin, John	merchant	1	8,10,14
Ray, Charles B.	No occupation ("coloured")		13,14,17
Reed, John J.	printer	4	14,17
Rich, Lewis	hatter	4	12,13
Ripley, Hezekiah W.	No occupation		5,9
Ritter, Thomas	M.D., drugs	2	10,13,14
Robinson, James F.	att. & couns.	2	8,10,12,13,14
Rogers, Stephen Nelson	shoemaker	4	5,17
Ross, Charles	baker	4	10,13
Ruggles, David	readingroom ("coloured")	6	13,17
Rumsey, Aaron B.	fruits	3	10,12
Russell, Samuel Jr.	tract missionary	2	10,11,17
Sands, Daniel H.	paperdealer	3	14,17
Sanger, Joseph T.	fancy store	3	10,14,17
Savery, John S.	sexton	6	14,17
Scott, AlexanderMcL.	drygoods	3	10,12
Seaman, Willett	auctioneer	1	5,6

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Sharpe, Hezekiah D.	No occupation		12,14,17
Shotwell, William W. Jr.	broker	2	8,13,14
Smedes, Andrew Rose	Legible, not in		5,15
Smith, Alfred Waring	ready made linens	3	13,17
Smith, Morgan L.	leather store	3	5,8
Sommers, Charles G.	rev.	2	9,10
Spencer, Joseph P.	hats	3	5,9,10
Stone, William L.	editor,*Commercial Advertiser*	2	5,9
Stout, Thomas	No occupation		5,9
Sunderland, Rev. LaRoy	editor	2	13,14,17
Talbot, Jesse	agent, Am. Bd. of Comm. for Foreign Missions	2	5,8
Tappan, Arthur	silkgoods	1	7,8,14
Tappan, Lewis	No occupation		7,8,13,14,17
Taylor, John L.	carter	5	10,17
Tillou, Wesley	Legible, not in		9,10
Titchener, Edmund	confectioner	3	10,17
Titchener, Henry	confectioner	3	10,17
Underhill, Ira B.	flour store	3	5,9
Underhill, Richard T.	M.D.	2	5,8
Underwood, George W.	tailor	4	10,12
Utter, Thomas	carpenter	4	10,17
Vail, Robert	Legible, not in		9,10
Vale, Gilbert	teacher of navigation	2	9,10
Vanraenslaer,Thomas	victualler ("coloured")	3	9,10,13,14,17
Vanvalkenburgh,James	grocer	3	7,9
Wallin, Samuel Sr.	engraver	4	10,14
Walter, Ellwood	teacher	2	5,9
Washburn, Nathaniel	builder	4	10,12
Weld, Theodore D.	Legible, not in		13,14
Wells, Asa	carpenter	4	5,14
Wells, Darius	typecutter	4	8,13
Whiting, Seymour	dentist	2	5,13,14,17
Whitney, Eben	watchmaker	4	5,9
Wickens, Obed	clock & watchmaker	4	10,13
Wickens, S.B.	Legible, not in		10,13
Wilbur, Jeremiah	No occupation		9,13,14,17
Wilcox, Ezekiel H.	agent	2	14,17
Willcox, Edwin	drygoods	3	12,17
Willets, Amos	merchant	1	5,11
Willets, Edmund	crockery	3	9,11
Willets, Stephen	merchant	1	5,11
Williams, David S.	Legible, not in		10,13,14

UMI

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Williams, Henry	drygoods	3	12,15,17
Williams, John N.	broker	2	10,17
Williams, Ranson G.	publisher	2	9,13,14
Williams, Thomas S.	merchant	1	8,10
Wilson, Andrew H.	inspector of beef	2	9,10
Wilson, James G.	steam-planing mill	4	13,14
Winterton, William	merchant tailor	4	7,8
Wood, Elkanah	druggist	3	5,10
Wooster, Benjamin	grocer	3	14,17
Wright, Elizur Jr.	corr. secy., Am. Anti-Slavery Society	2	8,13,14
Wright, Theodore S.	rev. ("coloured")	2	5,13,14,17

UMI

APPENDIX 19A

Men who signed the 1827 petition from New York City against the Sunday mail and who also signed one or more petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia from New York City, 1829-1839

Summary of Men Who Signed Both the Sunday mail and Antislavery Petitions (26): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Legible, found, occupation listed	25	96.1
Legible, found, no occupation listed	1	3.8
Legible, not in	0	0.
Total	26	99.9

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (25)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	4	16.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	11	44.
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	3	12.
Artisans	7	28.
Laborers and Cartmen	0	0.
Other	0	0.
Total	25	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (3), silkgoods (1)[a]	4	16.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
editor (1), *New York Observer* (1)	2	8.
reverend	2	8.
teacher	2	8.
agent	1	4.
broker	1	4.
corr. secy. American Bible Society[b]	1	4.
measurer of grain	1	4.
professor[c]	1	4.

	Number	Percent
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
bookseller (1), books (1)	2	8.
china and crockery	1	4.
Artisans:		
merchant tailor (1), tailor and clothing store (1)	2	8.
bookbinder	1	4.
currier	1	4.
hatter	1	4.
printer	1	4.
shoemaker	1	4.
Laborers and Cartmen:	0	0.
Other:	0	0.
Total	25	100.0

Source: Appendices: 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Note: The above occupational breakdown is based on the latest occupation of each man. When the earliest occupation is used, there is a minimal change: merchants, 16%; professionals, clerical workers, and government officials, 36%; shopkeepers and proprietors, 16%; artisans, 28%; laborers and cartmen, 0%; other, 4%.

[a] Arthur Tappan, the most important financial supporter of abolition in New York City and the country as well, was a prominent silk goods merchant. Given what is known about his business and his significance in antislavery affairs, he was placed in the category with merchants, although by normal criteria his Directory listing would have put him with shopkeepers and proprietors.

[b] John C. Brigham, corr. secy. American Bible Society, was also a minister.

[c] This professor, George Bush, was also a minister.

APPENDIX 19B

Men who signed the 1827 petition from New York City against the Sunday mail and who also signed one or more petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia from New York City, 1829-1839

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category*	Petitions+
Bokee, Abraham	measurer of grain	2	3,10,14,17
Brewster, Joseph	hatter	4	3,7,10
Briggs, David	merchant	1	3,10
Brigham, Rev. John C.	corr. secy. American Bible Society	2	3,9
Bush, Rev. George	professor	2	3,5,14
Cairns, William Jr.	broker	2	3,5
Cox, Samuel H.	rev.	2	3,5
Dando, Stephen	agent	2	3,8,17
Davis, Cornelius	teacher	2	3,13,14
Edwards, Robert	tailor & clothing store	4	3,5
Fanshaw, Daniel	printer	4	3,9,10,17
Gibson, James R.	No occupation		3,7,8
Hallock, Gerard	editor	2	3,8
Haven, John P.	bookseller	3	3,9
Holbrook, Lowell	merchant	1	3,7,8
Horton, John G.	merchant	1	3,5
Jaques, Isaac	merchant tailor	4	3,17
Kumbel, William	currier	4	3,5
Lockwood, Roe	books	3	3,5,17
Ludlow, Henry G.	rev.	2	3,5,10
Morse, Richard C.	New York Observer	2	3,8,9
Quick, Teunis	china & crockery	3	3,17

---

*1 - Merchants;
2 - Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials;
3 - Shopkeepers and Proprietors;
4 - Artisans;
5 - Laborers and Cartmen;
6 - Other.

+Numbers indicate appendices in which petitions are located.

Name	Occupation	Occ. Category	Petitions
Requa, James B.	teacher	2	3,7
Ryckman, Robert W.	shoemaker	4	3,17
Starr, Charles	bookbinder	4	3,7
Tappan, Arthur	silkgoods	1	3,7,8,14

UMI

APPENDIX 20

Sample of Longworth's New-York City Directory for 1829-30

Total Entries: 31,135
Total Sample: 1,004

Summary of All Signers in the Sample (1004): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Total women	95	9.5
Total men with occupations listed	767	76.4
Total men with no occupations listed	142	14.1
Total	1004	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (767)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	77	10.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	83	10.8
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	134	17.5
Artisans	368	48.
Laborers and Cartmen	87	11.3
Other	18	2.3
Total	767	99.9

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (71), flour merchant (3), salt merchant (1), commission merchant (1)	76	9.9
president Merc. insurance co.[a]	1	.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
attorney (9), attorney and counselor (2), attorney, solicitor, and commissioner (1), attorney and commissioner (1), attorney and notary (1), notary and solicitor (1)	15	2.

UMI

	Number	Percent
M. D. (7), physician (5), cancer doctor (1)	13	1.7
shipmaster	9	1.1
teacher	7	.9
broker (5), produce broker (1)	6	.8
clerk	5	.7
inspector of beef (1), street inspector (1), lumber inspector (1)	3	.4
accountant	2	.3
agent	2	.3
city weigher	2	.3
commissioner	2	.3
custom-house officer (1), inspector of customs (1)	2	.3
lottery office (1), lottery and exchange office (1)	2	.3
reverend	2	.3
collector	1	.1
constable	1	.1
land-office	1	.1
judge supreme court	1	.1
marshal	1	.1
portrait painter	1	.1
recorder city hall	1	.1
revenue officer	1	.1
speculator	1	.1
surgeon dentist	1	.1
undertaker	1	.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer (60), grocer and fruiterer (1)	61	8.
drygoods	12	1.6
boardinghouse	7	.9
tavern	7	.9
shoestore (3), boot and shoe store (1)	4	.5
auctioneer	3	.4
druggist	3	.4
fruiterer	3	.4
tallow chandler (2), chandler (1)	3	.4
tobaccoist (2), tobaccoist and grocer (1)	3	.4
livery stable	2	.3
paint store	2	.3
victualler	2	.3
bookseller	1	.1
cabinet warehouse	1	.1
chinastore	1	.1
clothier	1	.1
coal yard	1	.1
coffee house	1	.1
confectioner	1	.1
copper store	1	.1
finding store	1	.1
flour store	1	.1

UMI

	Number	Percent
fur store	1	.1
haberdashers	1	.1
hardware	1	.1
importer	1	.1
Kidder's Manufacturers and stationer	1	.1
looking-glass store	1	.1
marketman	1	.1
music store	1	.1
oyster-house	1	.1
refectory	1	.1
ship chandler	1	.1
vinegar dealer	1	.1
Artisans:		
carpenters (56), shipcarpenter (7)	63	8.2
shoemakers (26), bootmaker (1)	27	3.5
tailor (22), merchant-tailor (3)	25	3.3
mason (23), mason and grocer (1)	24	3.1
smith (15), tinsmith (4), coopersmith (1), whitesmith (1)	21	2.7
butcher	19	2.5
cabinetmaker	18	2.3
watchmaker (8), clock and watchmaker (1), hydrometer and watchmaker (1)	10	1.3
weaver (9), silk-weaver (1)	10	1.3
painter (8), ornamental painter	9	1.2
rigger	9	1.2
hatter	8	1.
printer	8	1.
carver	6	.8
chairmaker	6	.8
baker	5	.7
stonecutter	5	.7
boatbuilder	4	.5
cooper	4	.5
engineer	4	.5
jeweller	4	.5
wheelwright	4	.5
bookbinder	3	.4
engraver (2), engraver and sealsinker (1)	3	.4
milliner	3	.4
saddler	3	.4
sailmaker	3	.4
blockmaker (1), block and pumpmaker (1)	2	.3
coach-maker	2	.3
combmaker (1), comb-factory (1)	2	.3
distiller (1), cordial distiller (1)	2	.3
hairdresser (1), haircutter (1)	2	.3
locksmith	2	.3
sashmaker	2	.3
shipjoiner	2	.3
shipwright	2	.3

	Number	Percent
umbrella-maker (1), umbrella-manufacturer (1)	2	.3
upholsterer	2	.3
blacking manufacturer and tinman	1	.1
brass founder	1	.1
brewer	1	.1
bricklayer	1	.1
builder	1	.1
brushmaker	1	.1
coachpainter	1	.1
currier	1	.1
cutler	1	.1
dyer	1	.1
gunmaker	1	.1
lapidary	1	.1
last-maker and finding story	1	.1
machinist	1	.1
manufacturer	1	.1
marble-polisher	1	.1
morocco-dresser	1	.1
musical instrument maker	1	.1
organ builder	1	.1
patternmaker	1	.1
paver	1	.1
peruquier	1	.1
pianoforte-maker	1	.1
planemaker	1	.1
plasterer	1	.1
plaster paris manufacturer	1	.1
plater	1	.1
plumber	1	.1
quil-dresser	1	.1
refiner	1	.1
roper	1	.1
sausage maker	1	.1
spar-maker	1	.1
suspender-manufacturer	1	.1
trunkmaker	1	.1
turner and grocer	1	.1
wall colourer	1	.1
whipmaker	1	.1
Laborers and Cartmen:		
cartman (57), hay cartman (2)	59	7.7
laborer	8	1.
mariner	7	.9
boatman	3	.4
coachman	2	.3
sawyer	2	.3
carman	1	.1
drayman	1	.1
mangling	1	.1
stevedore	1	.1
street-waterer	1	.1
washer	1	.1

	Number	Percent
Other:		
huxter	4	.5
milkman	2	.3
oysterman	2	.3
city baths	1	.1
city-guag.	1	.1
fisherman	1	.1
gardener	1	.1
letter-carrier	1	.1
measurer	1	.1
patent sweep	1	.1
Peru Iron Company	1	.1
sexton	1	.1
waiter	1	.1
Total	767	98.3

Source: Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory, for the Fifty-Fourth Year of American Independence (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1829).

Note: This was a systematic sample performed according to the procedures described by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. in Social Statistics (2nd edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 514-516. The total men in this Directory equals 60 percent of the 46,948 free white males twenty years and older in the 1830 federal census.

[a] This man was placed here because of his high status and importance within the city's economy, although he is not a merchant. The categories are named after the dominant group or groups within them.

APPENDIX 21

Sample of Longworth's New-York City Directory for 1836-37

Total Entries: 36,301
Total Sample: 1,451

Summary of All Signers in the Sample (1451): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Total Women	151	10.4
Total men with occupation listed	1119	77.1
Total men with no occupation listed	181	12.5
Total	1451	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (1119)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	101	9.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	144	12.9
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	257	23.
Artisans	500	44.7
Laborers and Cartmen	93	8.3
Other	24	2.1
Total	1119	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (78), commission merchant (10), flour merchant (1)	89	7.8
importer	8	.7
auctioneer	4	.4
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
attorney (13), attorney and counselor (10), counselor (2)	25	2.2
M. D. (17), physician (4)	21	1.9
broker (8), cotton broker (1), produce broker (1)	10	.9

UMI

	Number	Percent
teacher (4), prof. of music (2), teacher of music (1), music master (1), French prof. (1) prof. painting (1)	10	.9
clerk	9	.8
shipmaster (8), sloopmaster (1)	9	.8
U. S. inspector (2), wood inspector (2) hide ins. (1), inspector (1), lumber ins. (1)	7	.6
pilot	6	.5
agent (2), land agent (2), agent n.b.c. and s.b.t. (1)	5	.4
reverend	4	.4
customs house officer	3	.3
dentist	3	.3
U. S. measurer (2), grain measurer (1)	3	.3
weigher (1), hay weigher (1), U. S. weigher (1)	3	.3
accountant	2	.2
bookkeeper	2	.2
constable	2	.2
marshall	2	.2
artist	1	.1
assistant editor	1	.1
cashier mer. ex. bank	1	.1
c. surveyor	1	.1
comptroller	1	.1
consul for Frankfort on the Maine	1	.1
exchange office	1	.1
gallery fine arts	1	.1
manager Pack Theatre	1	.1
miniature painter	1	.1
money collector	1	.1
musican	1	.1
president Jackson Ins. Co.	1	.1
register	1	.1
secretary Washington Ins. Co.	1	.1
undertaker	1	.1
U. S. N.	1	.1
wharfinger	1	.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
grocer	73	6.5
drygoods	33	2.9
porterhouse	19	1.7
shoestore	13	1,1
clothier	8	.7
hardware	8	.7
tobacconist (4), tobacco dealer (1) segars (1)	6	.5
crockery (4), china (1)	5	.4
liquors (4), wine (1)	5	.4
bookstore	5	.4
confectioner	4	.4

	Number	Percent
tavern	4	.4
druggist	3	.3
fancy store	3	.3
haberdasher	3	.3
victualler	3	.3
balances (1), pat. balances (1)	2	.2
chandler	2	.2
findingstore	2	.2
furniture	2	.2
hats	2	.2
leather (1), hides etc. (1)	2	.2
lumber	2	.2
oil	2	.2
paintstore	2	.2
rope and paper (1), old rope (1)	2	.2
stationer	2	.2
artificial florist	1	.1
billiards	1	.1
blocks and pumps	1	.1
building stone	1	.1
carpets	1	.1
carriages	1	.1
chartstore	1	.1
coalyd	1	.1
coffins	1	.1
foundry	1	.1
French goods	1	.1
fringes etc.	1	.1
fruits	1	.1
hosiery	1	.1
hotel	1	.1
iron chests	1	.1
ironstore	1	.1
laboratory	1	.1
lime yd.	1	.1
lookingglasses	1	.1
millinery	1	.1
music	1	.1
oysterhouse	1	.1
paper	1	.1
paper boxes	1	.1
plasterparis	1	.1
provisions	1	.1
sailduck	1	.1
scalebeams	1	.1
segarboxes	1	.1
shipchandlers	1	.1
silvers	1	.1
spectales	1	.1
stages	1	.1
stonequarry	1	.1
stoneyard	1	.1
store	1	.1

UMI

	Number	Percent
turpentine	1	.1
umbrellas	1	.1
watchcases	1	.1
Artisans:		
carpenter	68	6.
shoemaker	42	3.8
tailor (1 colored)	35	3.1
cabinetmaker	31	2.8
whitesmith	29	2.6
mason	22	2.
painter	22	2.
printer	12	1.
hatter (9), beaver, fur, and satin beaver hat manufacturer (1)	10	.9
butcher	9	.8
cooper	9	.8
hairdresser (6), haircutter and razor-strap manuf. (1), barber (1)	8	.7
baker	7	.6
pianomaker	7	.6
stonecutter	7	.6
machinist	6	.5
rigger	6	.5
shipcarpenter	6	.5
turner	6	.5
watchmaker	6	.5
binder	5	.4
jeweller	5	.4
sailmaker	5	.4
gunsmith (3), riflemaker (1)	4	.4
marblepolisher	4	.4
trunkmaker	4	.4
blindmaker	3	.3
brushmaker	3	.3
carpetweaver	3	.3
distiller	3	.3
dyer	3	.3
engineer (2), topog. engineer (1)	3	.3
engraver on wood (2), engraver (1)	3	.3
ironfounder	3	.3
shipwright	3	.3
stovemanuf. (2), stovefactory (1)	3	.3
upholsterer	3	.3
basketmaker	2	.2
bookbinder	2	.2
bricklayer	2	.2
builder	2	.2
chairmaker	2	.2
coachmaker	2	.2
combmaker	2	.2
framemaker	2	.2
gilder	2	.2
joiner	2	.2

	Number	Percent
manufacturer (1), manufactory (1)	2	.2
milliner	2	.2
millwright	2	.2
moroccodresser	2	.2
plumber	2	.2
saddler	2	.2
sashmaker	2	.2
sawfiler	2	.2
sugar refiner	2	.2
typefounder (1), typecaster (1)	2	.2
bellowsmaker	1	.1
block and pumpmaker	1	.1
boatbuilder	1	.1
brewer	1	.1
carver	1	.1
caulker	1	.1
ciderist	1	.1
clothes dresser	1	.1
coachmaker	1	.1
coachpainter	1	.1
cordial distiller, lemon and raspberry syrup manufacturer	1	.1
cotton factory	1	.1
currier	1	.1
cutler	1	.1
cutter	1	.1
dockbuilder	1	.1
enginemaker	1	.1
furrier	1	.1
glasscutter	1	.1
glover	1	.1
goldbeater	1	.1
gratemaker	1	.1
gratesetter	1	.1
harnessmaker	1	.1
hinge maker	1	.1
hosemaker	1	.1
lapidary	1	.1
locksmith	1	.1
maltster	1	.1
musical instrument maker	1	.1
packer	1	.1
paver	1	.1
pearl manufacturer	1	.1
pencil maker	1	.1
plasterer	1	.1
pressmaker	1	.1
ropemaker	1	.1
sashmakers	1	.1
segarmaker	1	.1
shipjoiner	1	.1
silverplater	1	.1
slater and grocer	1	.1

	Number	Percent
starchmaker	1	.1
stockmaker	1	.1
tallowchandler	1	.1
upholsterer	1	.1
varnish	1	.1
weaver	1	.1
wheelwright	1	.1
whipmaker	1	.1
wig and corn hair manufacturer	1	.1
wireworker	1	.1
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	64	5.7
mariner	11	1.
laborer	7	.6
porter	3	.3
boatman	2	.2
coachman	2	.2
shoeblack	1	.1
truckman	1	.1
hatfinisher	1	.1
stevedore	1	.1
Other:		
huxter	2	.2
sexton	2	.2
trader	2	.2
burrmill-st. m.	1	.1
D. D.	1	.1
draughtsman	1	.1
drawing	1	.1
filing	1	.1
fisherman	1	.1
fishman	1	.1
forwarder	1	.1
gasman	1	.1
lamplighter	1	.1
lettercarrier	1	.1
market m.	1	.1
milkman	1	.1
oysterman	1	.1
steward	1	.1
the skaks	1	.1
watchman	1	.1
whitewasher (colored)	1	.1
Total	1119	102.1

Source: *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory, for the Sixty-First Year of American Independence* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1836).

Note: This was a systematic sample performed according to the procedures described by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. in

UMI

Social Statistics (2nd edition; New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 514-516. The total men in this Directory equals 41 percent of the 79,755 free white males twenty years and older in the 1840 federal census. Three "coloured" were in the sample--a tailor, a whitewasher, and one man with no listed occupation.

APPENDIX 22

Sample of Longworth's New-York City Directory for 1840-41

Total Entries: 35,251
Total Sample: 1,468

Summary of All Signers in the Sample (1468): Research in Directories

	Number	Percent
Total women	160	10.9
Total men with occupation listed	1097	74.7
Total men with no occupation	211	14.4
Total	1468	100.

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (1097)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	93	8.5
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	180	16.4
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	296	27.
Artisans	429	39.1
Laborers and Cartmen	77	7.
Other	22	2.
Total	1097	100.

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

	Number	Percent
Merchants:		
merchant (67), commission merchant (16)	83	7.6
importers	9	.8
auctioneer	1	.1
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
attorney (14), attorney and counselor (10), attorney and notary (1), counselor (1)	26	2.4
M. D. (19), physician (4)	23	2.1
broker (14), cotton broker (1) exchange broker (1)	16	1.5

UMI

	Number	Percent
clerk	14	1.3
agent (9), real estate agent (1), shipping agent (1)	11	1.
reverend	10	.9
shipmaster	10	.9
U. S. inspector (5), inspector (1), inspector of leather (1), inspector of oil (1), street inspector (1)	9	.8
accountant	8	.7
teacher (4), dancing master (1), drawing master (1), prof. music (1)	7	.6
customs house officer	4	.4
exchange officer	4	.4
musician	4	.4
city weigher (1), weigher (1), weigher coal (1), U. S. weigher (1)	4	.4
architect	3	.3
dentist	3	.3
marshal (2), city marshal marine court (1)	3	.3
speculator	3	.3
bookkeeper	2	.2
pilot	2	.2
undertaker	2	.2
cashier	1	.1
city surveyor	1	.1
consul	1	.1
measurer	1	.1
newsman	1	.1
New York *Observer*	1	.1
notary	1	.1
president	1	.1
publishers	1	.1
surv. Eagle Co.	1	.1
veterenary surgeon	1	.1
wharfinger	1	.1
Shopkeepers and Proprietors		
grocer	87	7.9
drygoods	33	3.
porterhouse	19	1.7
tavern	11	1.
hardware	9	.8
shoes (8), bootstore (1)	9	.8
clothier	7	.6
liquors (3), wines (2), ale (1), wine and tea (1)		
segars (4), tobacconist (2)	6	.5
fancy goods (3), fancy st. (2)	5	.5
leather dealer (3), leather (2)	5	.5
drugs	4	.4
oil (2), oil and candles (1), oil and soap (1)	4	.4

	Number	Percent
straw hats (2), palmleaf hats (1), hats (1), caps (1)	4	.4
books	3	.3
coal	3	.3
confectioner	3	.3
fruits	3	.3
grates	3	.3
lumber	3	.3
refectory	3	.3
spices (1), coffee and spices (1), tea and coffee (1)	3	.3
umbrellas	3	.3
flour	2	.2
needles	2	.2
haberdasher	2	.2
stoneyd (1), marbleyd (1)	2	.2
stoves	2	.2
watchcases	2	.2
watches	2	.2
victualler	2	.2
apothecary	1	.1
awnings	1	.1
baskets	1	.1
blacking	1	.1
brushes	1	.1
carpets	1	.1
cedarware	1	.1
chairs	1	.1
china	1	.1
combs	1	.1
corks	1	.1
crockery	1	.1
duck store	1	.1
foundry	1	.1
frames	1	.1
hay and straw	1	.1
hoistingwheels	1	.1
hotel	1	.1
ice	1	.1
iron	1	.1
iron chests	1	.1
jewelcases	1	.1
lime	1	.1
machinery	1	.1
military ware, etc.	1	.1
music	1	.1
musical instruments	1	.1
paper	1	.1
pencil cases	1	.1
planing mill	1	.1
pocketbooks	1	.1
provisions	1	.1
ridingschool	1	.1
sawmill	1	.1

	Number	Percent
scalebeams	1	.1
scales	1	.1
shipchandler	1	.1
silkgoods	1	.1
silverplate	1	.1
spiritcolors	1	.1
stables	1	.1
stationer and paper hangings	1	.1
trunkmaker	1	.1
Artisans:		
shoemaker (31), bootmaker (6), cordwainer (1)	38	3.5
carpenter	33	3.
tailor (30), merchant tailor (1)	31	2.8
butcher	20	1.8
mason	20	1.8
cabinetmaker	19	1.7
smith (10), coppersmith (3), silversmith (3), tinsmith (2)	18	1.6
baker	15	1.4
jeweller	15	1.4
painter (14), signpainter (1)	15	1.4
printer	12	1.1
stonecutter (11), marblecutter (1)	12	1.1
cooper	11	1.
sailmaker	9	.8
shipcarpenter	7	.6
hatter	7	.6
builder	6	.5
gilder (5), chinagilder (1)	6	.5
engraver (4), engraver on wood (1)	5	.5
brushmaker (3), brush and bellows manuf. (1)	4	.4
carver	4	.4
caulker	4	.4
shipjoiner	4	.4
upholsterers	4	.4
wheelwright	4	.4
brassfounder (2), ironfounder (1)	3	.3
engineer	3	.3
hairdresser (2), haircutter (1)	3	.3
locksmith	3	.3
paperhanger	3	.3
watchmaker	3	.3
binder	2	.2
blindmaker	2	.2
brewer	2	.2
carpetweaver	2	.2
chairmaker	2	.2
coachmaker	2	.2
combmaker	2	.2
dyer	2	.2
glasscutter	2	.2

UMI

	Number	Percent
gratemaker	2	.2
gunsmith	2	.2
furrier	2	.2
millwright	2	.2
plasterer	2	.2
saddler	2	.2
sashmaker	2	.2
shipbuilders	2	.2
shipwright	2	.2
slater	2	.2
turner	2	.2
typefounder	2	.2
barber	1	.1
blindmaker	1	.1
block and pump mkr	1	.1
boatbuilder	1	.1
bookbinder	1	.1
bookmaker	1	.1
buckram maker	1	.1
clockmaker	1	.1
contractor	1	.1
cutler	1	.1
cutter	1	.1
distiller	1	.1
dockbuilder	1	.1
electrician	1	.1
filemaker	1	.1
framemaker	1	.1
hosier	1	.1
joiner	1	.1
limefactory	1	.1
machinist	1	.1
maltster	1	.1
millinery manuf.	1	.1
marblepolisher	1	.1
moroccodresser	1	.1
oil manuf.	1	.1
papermaker	1	.1
patternmaker	1	.1
pencilmaker	1	.1
pianomaker	1	.1
plumber	1	.1
quill manuf.	1	.1
refiners	1	.1
rigger	1	.1
ropemaker	1	.1
sawfiler	1	.1
segarmaker	1	.1
silverplater	1	.1
sparmaker	1	.1
spiral trussmaker	1	.1
staircaser	1	.1
stove manuf.	1	.1

	Number	Percent
surgical instru. and trussmaker	1	.1
tallowchandler	1	.1
trunkmaker	1	.1
wireweaver	1	.1
wire manuf.	1	.1
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter (62), coal carter (1)	63	5.7
porter	4	.4
mariner	3	.3
gardener	3	.3
boatman	1	.1
drover	1	.1
hackman	1	.1
stevedore	1	.1
Other:		
milkman	5	.5
fisherman	3	.3
sexton	3	.3
cooking range	1	.1
culler of staves	1	.1
D. D.	1	.1
foreman	1	.1
huckster	1	.1
marketman	1	.1
melter	1	.1
police officer	1	.1
portwarden	1	.1
star house	1	.1
Total	1097	101.4

Source: Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory, for the Sixty-Fifth Year of American Independence (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1840).

Note: This was a systematic sample performed according to the procedures described by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. in Social Statistics (2nd edition; New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972), pp. 514-516. The total men in this Directory equals 39 percent of the 79,755 free white males twenty years and older in the 1840 federal census. Three "coloured" were in the sample--a minister, a porter, and a milkman.

APPENDIX 23

Origins of the Petition Campaign against Slavery in the District of Columbia, 1825 to 1833: the 19th through the 22nd Congresses

States Listed by Total Signers, 1825-1833

	No. of Petitions	No. of Signers
Pennsylvania	83	8646
New York	14	3608
Maryland	5	2875
Vermont	39	2492
Ohio	27	1496
Massachusetts	15	1411
Maine	2	1075
New Jersey	10	812
Delaware	3	424
Kentucky	2	400
District of Columbia	1	370
Connecticut	3	283
Indiana	3	269
Illinois	1	110
Tennessee	6	70
North Carolina	3	64
	217	24,405

States Listed by Year and Number of Signers

	No. of Petitions	No. of Signers
1825		
Tennessee[a]	1	0
1827		
Maryland	1	1155
New York	1	800
Pennsylvania	2	142
Massachusetts[b]	1	0
Tennessee[c]	1	0
	6	2097

	No. of Petitions	No. of Signers
1828		
Pennsylvania	18	1683
Maryland	2	1526
New Jersey	1	128
Ohio[d]	1	0
North Carolina[e]	1	0
Tennessee[f]	0	0
	24	3337
1829		
Vermont	38	2428
New York	9	1999
Pennsylvania	23	1459
Maine	1	1029
Ohio	12	742
New Jersey[g]	8	464
Delaware	3	424
Connecticut	3	283
Indiana	3	269
Massachusetts	2	171
Maryland	1	133
Illinois	1	110
North Carolina	1	64
Tennessee[h]	1	0
	106	9575
1830		
Pennsylvania	16	1299
Ohio	2	146
Maryland	1	61
North Carolina[i]	1	0
	20	1506
1831[j]		
Pennsylvania[k]	4	2480
Massachusetts	5	709
New York	2	401
Vermont	1	64
Maine	1	46
	13	3700
1832		
Ohio	12	608
Massachusetts	7	531
New Jersey	1	220
New York	1	75
Pennsylvania	1	37
Tennessee	1	0
	23	1471

	No. of Petitions	No. of Signers
1833		
Pennsylvania	19	1546
Kentucky	2	400
District of Columbia	1	370
New York	1	333
Tennessee	1	70
	24	2719
Totals: 1825-1833	217	24,405

Sources: Records of the National Archives, Numbers HR19A-G4.2, HR19A-H1.3, HR20A-G5.1, HR21A-G5.1, HR22A-G5.2; Library of Congress, House of Representatives Collection, Boxes #47, #48, #56, and #57. This collection from the Library of Congress is now at the National Archives. These records include all the petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia submitted to the House of Representatives in the 19th through the 22nd Congresses, which are available in the National Archives.

Note: The Congresses included here cover the period before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in December, 1833. The petition campaign organized by the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery really ended by 1830.

[a] Memorial of the 11th Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee against several issues concerning slavery including abolition in the District of Columbia.

[b] Memorial of the Anti-Slavery Society of Williams College.

[c] Memorial of the 12th Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee on several issues concerning slavery including abolition in the District of Columbia.

[d] Memorial of the Salem Abolition and Colonization Society.

[e] Memorial of the Manumission Society of North Carolina; it also supports colonization of free blacks.

[f] Memorial of the 13th Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

[g] One of these petitions includes most of the New Jersey State Legislature.

[h] Memorial of the 14th Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

UMI

[i] Memorial of the Manumission Society of North Carolina.

[j] There is a petition from 69 men from Buckingham County, Virginia (2/7/31), advocating the colonization of free blacks; it is not included here because it did not mention abolition in the District of Columbia.

[k] Of the total signers 2,312 were women from Philadelphia. They are the only women who signed petitions in this whole period.

UMI

APPENDIX 24

New York City's Journeymen in 1819

Table I

A Comparison of Journeymen and Masters in the Eighth Ward of New York City

Occupations	[c]Total	Masters	Jrnymn	[b]Av. Age Masters	[b]Av. Age of Jrnymn
Carpenter	322	49	273	41.7[a]	34.6[a]
Masons	139	33	106	40.2[a]	34.2[a]
Shoemakers	96	30	66	39.9[a]	31.9[a]
Blacksmith	49	21	28	48.1	28.9
Cabinetmaker	33	19	14	33.4[a]	27.3[a]
Tailor	20	12	8	37.3[a]	27.3[a]
Painter	19	6	13	31.6	29.7
Cooper	18	6	12	48.7	36.7
Stone-cutter	18	9	9	42.5	28.5
Printer	7	2	5	32.5[a]	31.9[a]
Ship-carpenter	12	6	6	39.0	30.8
Tanner	10	4	6	45.3	40.5
Bookbinder	5	1	4	45.0	----
Dockbuilder	16	12	4	38.0	29.0
Coachmaker	9	6	3	34.8	----
Combmaker	7	3	4	36.0	24.5
Tinman	6	5	1	38.5	----
Ropemaker	6	3	3	44.0	24.5
Distiller	5	4	1	37.5	28.0

Source: Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), Table I, pp. 23, 24. Rock based his analysis on the New York City Jury Book, Eighth Ward, 1819, Historical Documents Center, Queens College, New York City.

Note: In his dissertation Rock used the term "non-journeymen" for masters. In a letter, however, he said that non-journeymen were masters, particularly since he defined journeymen as wage earners.

[a] The ages for carpenters, masons, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, tailors and printers are derived from the fourth, sixth and eighth wards. See Table II.

UMI

[b] Not every journeyman or master has his age listed. However, while this may throw the average off for a particular trade, the aggregate averages and differences will still be accurate.

[c] Aliens not included in total. There was however, no more than one alien per trade except for six tailors, three slaters, and two shoemakers and cabinetmakers.

Table II

Comparison of Journeymen and Masters in Major Mechanic Trades of New York, 1819: Age

(Wards 4, 6, 8)

	No.	Average Age	Age 20-29	30-39	40-49	50+	Unknown
Shoemakers							
Journeymen	154	31.9	65	40	21	6	22
Masters	86	39.9	13	24	18	15	16
[a]Aliens	37						
Masons							
Journeymen	151	34.2	29	26	17	10	69
Masters	43	40.2	5	13	6	8	11
[a]Aliens	35						
Carpenters							
Journeymen	407	34.6	95	101	59	20	132
Masters	96	41.7	10	29	27	17	13
[a]Aliens	66						
Tailors							
Journeymen	47	32.3	19	16	7	3	2
Masters	57	36.7	14	20	8	10	5
[a]Aliens	66						
[a]Women	23						
Cabinetmakers							
Journeymen	50	27.3	28	9	6	0	7
Masters	40	33.4	11	11	4	1	13
[a]Aliens	19						
Printers							
Journeymen	38	31.9	15	17	4	0	2
Masters	12	32.5	3	6	2	0	1
[a]Aliens	6						

Source: Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), Table II, pp. 25, 26. Rock based his analysis on the New York City Jury Book, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth Wards, 1819, Historical Documents Center, Queens College, New York City.

Note: In his dissertation Rock used the term "non-journeymen" for masters. In a letter, however, he said that non-journeymen were masters, particularly since he defined journeymen as wage earners.

[a] Ages not listed.

UMI

Table III

Comparison of Journeymen and Masters in Major Mechanic Trades of New York, 1819: Wealth

(Wards 4, 6, 8)

	No.	Personal Property 0 - $149	Personal Property $150+	Frehold $150+ and Personal Property$150+	Percent: 2nd & 3rd Columns Combined
Shoemakers					
Journeymen	154	144	9	1	6.5
Masters	86	27	36	23	67.0
Aliens	37	33	4	0	10.8
[a](64.2 = % journeymen excluding aliens) (68.9 = % journeymen including aliens)					
Masons					
Journeymen	151	146	4	1	3.3
Masters	43	18	11	14	58.1
Aliens	35	32	3	0	8.6
[a](77.8 = % journeymen excluding aliens) (81.2 = % journeymen including aliens)					
Carpenters					
Journeymen	407	357	34	16	12.3
Masters	96	19	46	31	80.2
Aliens	66	59	7	0	10.6
[a](80.9 = % journeymen excluding aliens) (83.1 = % journeymen including aliens)					
Tailors					
Journeymen	47	44	3	0	6.4
Masters	57	11	36	10	80.7
Aliens	66	66	0	0	0.0
[a](45.2 = % journeymen excluding aliens and women) (70.5 = % journeymen including aliens and women)					
Cabinetmakers					
Journeymen	50	49	1	0	2.0
Masters	42	13	23	6	72.5
Aliens	19	18	1	0	5.3
[a](55.6 = % journeymen excluding aliens) (69.6 = % journeymen including aliens)					
Printers					
Journeymen	38	36	2	0	5.3
Masters	12	3	7	2	72.5
Aliens	6	6	0	0	0.0
[a](76.0 = % journeymen excluding aliens) (78.6 = % journeymen including aliens)					

Source: Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), Table III, pp. 27, 28. Rock based his analysis on the New York City Jury Book, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth Wards, 1819, Historical Documents Center, Queens College, New York City.

Note: In his dissertation Rock used the term "non-journeymen" for masters. In a letter, however, he said that non-journeymen were masters, particularly since he defined journeymen as wage earners.

[a] The Jury Lists did not divide aliens into masters and journeymen, but it is unlikely that they were predominately masters. They were more likely to be laborers and journeymen. The percentage of journeymen excluding aliens does not include aliens or women in the total. The percentage including aliens counts journeymen and aliens together, and indicates the percentage of this group out of all the laborers.

Table IV

Journeymen's Annual Budgets: 1809 and 1819

	1809 Carpenters	1819 Masons
House rent	$ 55.00	$ 60.00
Fire wood	30.00	18.00
Food for family[a]	162.50	195.00
Wearing apparel[b]	60.00	100.00
Tools expense[c]	10.00	0.00
Contingent expenses[c]	20.00	0.00
Total[d]	$337.50	$373.00
Left for wife's and children's clothing,[c] recreation, illness, education of children, and other emergencies	$ 62.50	$ 27.00

Source: Howard Blair Rock, "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1974), p. 38.

Note: Rock states that, "The carpenters' statement appeared as part of an appeal to the public for support during a strike in April, 1809. It was based on an annual salary of $400 that included three hundred days of work, two hundred from May to November at eleven shillings per day ($275). The masons' figures appeared similarly in a strike appeal in May, 1819, and were also based on an annual salary of $400. This was calculated from 213 working days per year at fifteen shillings per day, and differed by $187 from the masters' estimate of journeymen's wages, because--according to the journeymen--the masters did not account for all the days that the journeymen could not work." Rock, pp. 37, 38.

[a] Carpenters stipulate that this meant "victualling for a family of five at 50 cents per day."

[b] Carpenters stipulate personal apparel for themselves only while masons state that this amount covers apparel for a family of five.

[c] Carpenters only.

[d] Amount given in advertisement, $357.50, was incorrect by $20.00.

APPENDIX 25

TABLE I

CELEBRATIONS OF TOM PAINE'S BIRTHDAY: 1825-1844

1825 . . .	(New York City)[a]
1826 . . .	(New York City)
1827 . . .	New York City
1828 . . .	New York City
1829 . . .	New York City; Albany, New York; Woodstock, Vermont; New Hartford, Oneida County, New York
1830 . . .	New York City; Albany, New York
1831 . . .	(New York City)
1832 . . .	New York City
1833 . . .	New York City; West Farms, New York
1834 . . .	New York City
1835 . . .	New York City; (Boston)
1836 . . .	(New York City)
1837 . . .	(New York City)
1838 . . .	New York City; Boston; Cincinnati; Cleveland; New Harmony, Indiana; (Providence, R. I.)
1839 . . .	(New York City)
1840 . . .	(New York City)
1841 . . .	New York City; Pittsburgh; New Harmony, Indiana; Pawtucket, Rhode Island
1842 . . .	New York City; Boston; Cincinnati; Pittsburgh; New Harmony, Indiana; Longview, Tennessee
1843 . . .	New York City; Boston; Philadelphia; Cincinnati; New Harmony, Indiana; Camptown, New Jersey
1844 . . .	New York City; Philadelphia; Camptown, New Jersey

Source: The table lists the Tom Paine birthday celebrations reported in the *Working Man's Advocate*, *The New York Daily Sentinel and Working Man's Advocate*, *The Man*, the *Correspondent*, the *Beacon*, and the *Boston Investigator*. Of course, all of the celebrations were not necessarily reported in these publications; but the table does give a good indication of their general development. Most of these papers had stopped publishing by the mid 1840s. Until 1844 a year by year account of the celebrations is possible because the papers are available.

[a] The parentheses indicate that there is no published contemporary account of a celebration, although later reports do exist referring to one at this time and place.

UMI

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONS OF CELEBRANTS OF TOM PAINE'S BIRTHDAY IN NEW YORK CITY: 1825-1844

Summary of Occupations Found in the Directories (66)

	Number	Percent
Merchants	2	3.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials	9	13.6
Shopkeepers and Proprietors	15	22.9
Artisans	36	54.5
Laborers and Cartmen	2	3.
Other	2	3.
Total	66	99.8

Distribution of Occupations within Each Category

Merchants:		
merchant	2	3.
Professionals, Clerical Workers, and Government Officials:		
architect	1	1.5
artist	1	1.5
counselor in the courts	1	1.5
draftsman	1	1.5
physician	1	1.5
portrait painter	1	1.5
professor of music	1	1.5
surveyor	1	1.5
teacher of navigation	1	1.5
Shopkeepers and Proprietors:		
drygoods	3	4.5
bookstore	2	3.
clothier	2	3.
coffeehouse	1	1.5
druggist	1	1.5
hatstore	1	1.5
iron chests	1	1.5
porterhouse	1	1.5
print-store	1	1.5
tavern	1	1.5
victualler	1	1.5

	Number	Percent
Artisans:		
printer	4	6.1
shoemaker (3), bootmaker (1)	4	6.1
stonecutter (2), marblecutter (2)	4	6.1
cabinetmaker	2	3.
glasscutter	2	3.
painter	2	3.
umbrellamaker	2	3.
barber	1	1.5
blindmaker	1	1.5
brassfounder	1	1.5
butcher	1	1.5
cutler	1	1.5
edge tool manufacturer	1	1.5
gratesetter	1	1.5
hatter	1	1.5
mason	1	1.5
milinary	1	1.5
paperhanger	1	1.5
printer and manufacturer of components	1	1.5
rule-maker	1	1.5
saddler	1	1.5
smith	1	1.5
tinsmith	1	1.5
Laborers and Cartmen:		
carter	2	3.
Other:		
police-officer	1	1.5
waterman	1	1.5
Total	66	99.3

Source: The accounts of the New York City Paine celebrations cited in Table I.

Note: Most of these men were noted in the accounts of the celebrations as giving volunteer toasts from the floor. The occupations of the men were derived from the New York City Directories. Of course, many men could not be found or had names too common to distinguish them from others with the same name. Only those found with listed occupations are given here.

TABLE III

CELEBRANTS OF TOM PAINE'S BIRTHDAY IN NEW YORK CITY: 1825-1844

Name	Occupation	Year 1st Appeared in Paine Celebration
Jonathan Adams	cabinetmaker	1834
William Alberts	coffeehouse	1844
George Anderson	umbrellamaker	1828
Henry C. Atwood	hatter	1828
William Belcher	rule-maker	1829
George Birch	glasscutter	1835
Edward M. Bond	hatstore	1833
David I. Burger	jeweller	1832
Archibald Burns	stonecutter	1834
Charles Burton	draftsman	1832
Peter Bussey	tavern	1844
William Carver[a]	smith	1825
Benjamin Catley	surveyor	1833
James P. Clark	barber	1833
Charles C. Clarke	drygoods	1834
G. B. Clarke	tailor	1841
Robert Cooke	portrait painter	1832
Ira B. Davis	porterhouse	1841
John DeLacy	counsellor in the courts	1835
John Ditchett[a]	drygoods	1832
Thomas Dodworth	professor of music	1838
John Donnely	carter	1841
S. P. Durando	tailor	1834
George Henry Evans	printer	1832
John G. Farley	artist	1844
John Frazee	marblecutter	1828
George Gorum	shoemaker	1835
Joseph Gregory	jeweller	1844
William H. Hale	marblecutter	1834
Joseph L. Hays	police-officer	1828
Joseph S. Hodgkins	carter	1835
Henry Hoff[a]	saddler	1835
Robert Hogbin	tinsmith	1832
John R. Hopper	butcher	1844
George Houston[a]	printer, ed. of the *Correspondent*	1827
George Houston, Jr.	printer	1829
John Hudson	brassfounder	1841

Name	Occupation	Year 1st Appeared in Paine Celebration
Laban Jacobs	edge tool manuf.	1834
Phillip Johnson[a]	unknown	1834
John C. Kelley[a]	druggist	1834
David Kilmer	shoemaker	1835
Carl Klauberg	cutler	1835
John Lawton[a]	gratesetter	1835
Joseph Lawton[a]	milinary	1838
Richard D. Letter	victualler	1833
Karmann Levy	drygoods	1835
A. H. Lissak	clothier	1835
Alexander Louttit	tailor	1844
Augustus Matsell	bookstore	1835
G. W. Matsell	bookstore	1838
John Morrison[a]	merchant	1832
Walter Morton[a]	unknown	1833
Benjamin Offen[a]	bootmaker	1825
Sands Olcott	merchant	1833
James M. Osborn	blindmaker	1833
Francis Pares	paper-hanger	1828
Hiram Parker	waterman	1834
Joseph D. Pierson	cabinetmaker	1833
H. D. Robinson	print-store	1834
W. B. Sawyer	stonecutter	1835
Matthew Sayer	glasscutter	1835
William Shields	painter	1829
Thomas G. Spear	printer	1828
Henry C. Spicer	iron chests	1832
Elisha Tallmadge	shoemaker	1832
Gilbert Vale[a]	teacher of navigation; ed. the Beacon	1838
Andrew Watkins	physician	1844
William A. Watson	painter	1834
E. J. Webb[a]	architect	1841
Levi White	clothier	1833
T. J. White	mason	1843
John Windt[a]	printer and manuf. of components	1833
John Witts	umbrellamaker	1835

Source: See the sources cited in I.

Note: See the note for Table II. Many of these men participated in more than one celebration.

[a] A man who held an official position at one or more of the celebrations.

APPENDIX 26

Sources of Membership Lists

"Association of Gentlemen": Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University), p. 61.

General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York: Thomas Earle and Charles T. Congdon, ed., Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, from 1785 to 1880 (New York: published by order of the Society, 1882), pp. 398-416.

Journeyman House Carpenters: "Constitution and By-Laws of the New York Union Society of Journeyman House Carpenters, Adopted November 19, 1833." (New York Public Library)

Manumission Society of New York: Minutes of the Meetings of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race--1826, p. 128; 1827, pp. 34-35; 1828, p. 40; 1829, pp. 52-53. (New York Historical Society)

New England Society in the City of New York: Minutes of the New England Society in the City of New York, Vols. I and II. (New York Historical Society)

New-York City Colonization Society, reorganized in 1831: Eli Seifman, "A History of the New-York State Colonization Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1965), p. 77.

New York City Tract Society: Lewis E. Jackson, Gospel Work in New York City, A Memorial of Fifty Years in City Missions (New York: New York City Mission, 1878), pp. 7-8.

Paineites: Appendix 25.

Pessen's List of Wealth: Edward Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973), pp. 320-322.

Workingmen in New York City: A list of 850 participants in the New York Workingmen's movement graciously provided by Walter Hugins.

UMI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Adams, Alice Dana. *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964.

Albion, Robert Greenhalgh. *The Rise of New York Port*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967.

Asbury, Herbert. *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

Barnes, Gilbert Hobbs. *The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844*. (A Harbinger Book.) New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.

Benson, Lee. *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.

Berthoff, Rowland Tappan. *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Birney, William. *James G. Birney and His Times: The Genesis of the Republican Party*. New York: Bergman Publishers, 1969.

Boston, Ray. *British Chartists in America 1839-1900*. Totowa, N.J.: Manchester University Press, 1971.

Brooks, Richard Albert Edward (ed.). *The Diary of Michael Floy Jr.: Bowery Village 1833-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

Colden, Cadwallader D. *Memoir, Prepared at the Request of a Committee of the Common Council of the City of New York, and Presented to the Mayor of the City, at the Celebration of the Completion of the New York Canals*. New York: printed by order of the Corporation of New York by W. A. Davis, 1825.

Cole, Charles C. Jr. *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists 1826-1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

UMI

Commons, John R., et. al. A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Vol. V: Labor Movement, 1820-1840. New York: Russell & Russell, 1958.

________, et. al. History of Labour in the United States. 2 vols. New York: McMillan Co., 1918.

Davis, David Brion (ed.). Ante-Bellum Reform. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967.

________. The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Dawley, Alan. Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Dictionary of American Biography. 21 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

Donald, David. Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era. 2nd ed. enlarged. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

Ellis, David M., et. al. A History of New York State. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.

Ernst, Robert. Immigrant Life in New York City 1825-1863. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949.

Foner, Eric (ed.). Nat Turner. (Great Lives Observed.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.

________. Tom Paine and Revolutionary America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Foner, Philip S. Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

Formisano, Ronald P. The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Fox, Dixon Ryan. The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York 1801-1840. (Harper Torchbooks.) New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.

Fredrickson, George M. The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914. (Harper Torchbooks.) New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971.

________ (ed.). *A Nation Divided: Problems and Issues of the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1975.

Gilchrist, David T. (ed.). *The Growth of the Seaport Cities 1790-1825*. (Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Elutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, March 17-19, 1966.) Charlottesville, Va.: published for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation by The University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960.

Grimsted, David. *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theater and Culture 1800-1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Gutman, Herbert G. *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Hammond, Jabez D. *The History of Political Parties in the State of New-York, From the Ratification of the Federal Constitution to December, 1840*. 2 vols. Albany, N.Y.: stereotyped and printed by C. VanBenthuysen, 1842.

Handy, Robert T. *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Harlow, Alvin F. *Old Bowery Days: The Chronicles of a Famous Street*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., MCMXXXI.

Harrison, Brian. *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*. (Published in England by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome, 1971.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971.

Harrison, John F. C. *Quest for the New Moral World: Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britian and America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.

Haswell, Charles H. *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of of the City of New York (1816 to 1860)*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1897.

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. *Cheerful Yesterdays*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

Hobsbawm, E.J. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*. New York: Vintage Books, 1973.

________. *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Hugins, Walter. *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement 1829-1837*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960.

Jackson, Lewis E. *Gospel Work in New York City, A Memorial of Fifty Years in City Missions*. New York: New York City Mission, 1878.

Kasson, John F. *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America 1776-1900*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976.

Koch, G. Adolf. *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and The Cult of Reason*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933.

Longworth's Directory of New York City.

McCormick, Richard P. *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1966.

McLoughlin, William G. *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher: An Essay on the Shifting Values of Mid-Victorian America, 1840-1870*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

________. *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham*. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959.

Mandel, Bernard. *Labor: Free and Slave, Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States*. New York: Associated Authors, 1955.

Marty, Martin E. *The Infidel: Freethought and American Religion*. (Meridian Books.) Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1961.

________. *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America*. New York: The Dial Press, 1970.

May, Henry F. *The Enlightenment in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Mead, Sidney E. *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963.

UMI

Meyers, Marvin. The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957.

Montgomery, David. Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872. (A Vintage Book.) New York: Random House, 1967.

National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. 13 vols. New York: James T. White & Co., 1892-1906.

Nevins, Allan (ed.). The Diary of Phillip Hone 1828-1851. 2 vols. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1970.

Odell, George C. D. Annals of the New York Stage. Vols. III and IV. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Pessen, Edward. Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

_________. Most Uncommon Jacksonians: Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1967.

_________. Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1973.

Picton, Thomas. Rose Street; Its Past, Present and Future. New York: Russell Brothers, 1873.

Pomerantz, Sidney I. New York An American City 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Post, Albert. Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Pred, Allan R. The Spatial Dynamics of United States Urban-Industrial Growth, 1800-1914: Interpretive and Theoretical Essays. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966.

_________. Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Ratner, Lorman. Powder Keg: Northern Opposition to the Antislavery Movement, 1831-1840. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968.

Richards, Leonard L. "Gentlemen of Property and Standing": Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

UMI

Rosenberg, Carroll Smith. *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Rosenwaike, Ira. *Population History of New York City*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. *The Age of Jackson*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945.

Schlüter, Herman. *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery*. New York: Socialist Literature Co., 1913.

Scisco, Louis Dow. *Political Nativism in New York State*. New York: A.M.S. Press, Inc., 1968.

Skidmore, Thomas. *The Rights of Man to Property*! New York: printed by Alexander Ming, Jr., 1829.

Spring, Gardiner. *Personal Reminiscences of the Life and Times of Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, in the City of New York*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1866.

Sorin, Gerald. *The New York Abolitionists: A Case Study of Political Radicalism*. (Contributions in American History No. 11.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1971.

Still, Bayard. *Mirror for Gotham: New York as seen by Contemporaries from Dutch Days to the Present*. New York: New York University Press, 1956.

Sullivan, William A. *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania*, 1800-1840. Harrisburg, Pa.: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1955.

Tappan, Lewis. *Life of Arthur Tappan*. New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1870.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution 1815-1860*. (Vol. IV of the *Economic History of the United States*.) New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1951.

Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*. New York: Atheneum, 1972.

Thistlethwaite, Frank. *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959.

Thompson, E. P. The Making of the English Working Class. (Vintage Books.) New York: Random House, 1963.

Thorburn, Grant. Fifty Years' Reminiscences of New York or Flowers from the Garden of Laurie Todd. New York: Published by Daniel Fanshaw, 1845.

________. Forty Years' Residence in America. Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf, 1834.

________. Life and Writings of Grant Thorburn: Prepared by Himself. New York: Edward Walker, 1852.

________. Men and Manners in Britian; or, A Bone to Gnaw for the Trollopes, Fidlers, and etc. New York: Wiley and Long, 1834.

________. Sketches from the Note-Book of Laurie Todd. New York: Printed by D. Fanshaw, 1847.

Tocqueville, de Alexis. Democracy in America. 2 vols. New York: Random House, 1945.

Walters, Ronald G. The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Weisberger, Bernard A. They Gathered at the River: The Story of the Great Revivalists and Their Impact Upon Religion in America. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1958.

Williams, William Appleman. The Contours of American History. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961.

Wood, Gordon S. The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1787. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery. Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969.

Yearly, Clifton K. Jr. Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on Labor, 1820-1914. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, No. 1.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957.

UMI

Ph. D. Dissertations and Master's Essays

Black, William N. "The Union Society of Journeymen House Carpenters: A Test in Residential Mobility in Antebellum New York City, 1830-1840." Unpublished Master's essay, Columbia University, 1975.

Casais, John Anthony. "The New York State Constitutional Convention of 1821 and its Aftermath." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967.

Danforth, Brian J. "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors Upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New York City Merchants, 1828-1844." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974.

Degler, Carl N. "An Inquirey into the Locofoco Party." Unpublished Master's essay, Department of History, Columbia University, 1947.

________. "Labor in the Economy and Politics of New York City, 1850-1860: A Study in the Impact of Early Industrialization." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952.

Gold, August Baer. "A History of Manufacturing in New York City, 1825-1840." Unpublished Master's essay, Columbia University, 1932.

Henderson, Alice Hatcher. "The History of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963.

Hershkowitz, Leo. "New York City, 1834-1840, A Study in Local Politics." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, New York University, 1960.

Moseley, T. Robert. "A History of the New-York Manumission Society, 1785-1849." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1963.

Pernicone, Carol Groneman. "The 'Bloody Ould Sixth': A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1973.

Rock, Howard B. "The Independent Mechanic: The Tradesmen of New York City in Labor and Politics During the Jeffersonian Era." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1974.

Savetsky, Seymour. "The New York Working Men's Party." Unpublished Master's essay, Columbia University, 1948.

UMI

Seifman, Eli. "A History of the New York State Colonization Society." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1965.

Twomey, Richard J. "Jacobins and Jeffersonians: Anglo-American Radicalism in the United States 1790-1820." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1974.

Weinbaum, Paul Owen. "Mobs and Demagogues: The Response to Collective Violence in New York City in the Early Nineteenth Century." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Rochester, 1977.

Articles

Arky, Louis H. "The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations and the Formation of the Philadelphia Workingmen's Movement," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVI, No. 2 (April, 1952), 142-176.

Asbury, Herbert. "The Old-Time Gangs of New York," The American Mercury, XI, No. 44 (August, 1927), 478-486.

Carwardine, Richard. "The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the New Measures," Journal of American History, LIX, No. 2 (September, 1972), 327-340.

Commons, John R. "American Shoemakers, 1648-1895: A Sketch of Industrial Evolution," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIV (November, 1909), 39-84.

Dawley, Alan, and Faler, Paul. "Working-Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalism and Rebellion," Journal of Social History, IX, No. 4 (June, 1976), 466-480.

Faler, Paul. "Cultural Aspects of the Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, Shoemakers and Industrial Morality, 1826-1860," Labor History, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1974), 367-394.

Finnie, Gordon E. "The Antislavery Movement in the Upper South Before 1840," Journal of Southern History, XXXV, No. 3 (August, 1969), 319-342.

Formisano, Ronald P. "Toward a Reorientation of Jacksonian Politics: A Review of the Literature, 1959-1975," Journal of American History, LXIII, No. 1 (June, 1976), 42-65.

UMI

Heale, M. J. "From City Fathers to Social Critics: Humanitarianism and Government in New York, 1790-1860," *Journal of American History*, LXIII, No. 1 (June, 1976), 21-41.

Hirsh, Leo H. "The Negro and New York, 1783 to 1865," *The Journal of Negro History*, XVI, No. 4 (October, 1931), 382-473.

Katz, Michael B. "Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario," *19th-Century Cities*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 209-244.

Kerber, Linda K. "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History*, XLVIII, No. 1 (January, 1967), 28-39.

Laurie, Bruce. "'Nothing on Impulse': Life Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820-1850," *Labor History*, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1974), 337-366.

Lofton, Williston H. "Abolition and Labor," *The Journal of Negro History*, XXXIII, No. 3 (July, 1948), 249-283.

McLoughlin, William G. "Pietism and the American Character," *American Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 2 (summer, 1965), 161-186.

Morgan, Edmund S. "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XXIV (1967), 3-43.

Montgomery, David. "The Shuttle and the Cross: Weavers and Artisans in the Kensington Riots of 1844," *Journal of Social History*, V, No. 4 (Summer, 1972), 411-446.

________. "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780-1830," *Labor History*, IX, No. 1 (Winter, 1968), 3-22.

Neufeld, Maurice F. "Realms of Thought and Organized Labor in the Age of Jackson," *Labor History*, X, No. 1 (Winter, 1969), 5-43.

Osofsky, Gilbert. "Abolitionists, Irish Immigrants, and the Dilemmas of Romantic Nationalism," *American Historical Review*, LXXX, No. 4 (October, 1975), 889-912.

Perlman, Daniel. "Organization of the Free Negro in New York City, 1800-1860," *Journal of Negro History*, LVI, No. 3 (July, 1971), 181-197.

Pessen, Edward. "The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City: An Historical and Theoretical Inquiry," *Journal of Urban History*, II, No. 3 (May, 1976), 267-306.

________. "Thomas Skidmore, Agrarian Reformer in the Early American Labor Movement," *New York History*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1954), 280-296.

________. "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jacksonian Era," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (1956-57), 428-443.

________. "The Working Men's Party Revisited," *Labor History*, IV, No. 3 (Fall, 1963), 202-226.

Pollard, Sidney. "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution," *The Economic History Review*, XVI (1963), 254-271.

Pred, Allan. "Manufacturing in the American Mercantile City, 1800-1840," *Cities in American History*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley K. Schultz (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 111-142.

Rayback, Joseph G. "The American Workingman and the Antislavery Crusade," *Journal of Economic History*, III and Supplement (1943), 152-163.

Rock, Howard B. "The American Revolution and the Mechanics of New York City: One Generation Later," *New York History*, LVII, No. 3 (July, 1976), 367-394.

________. "The Perils of Laissez-faire: The Aftermath of the New York Bakers' Strike of 1801," *Labor History*, XVII, No. 3 (Summer, 1976), 372-387.

Shalhope, Robert E. "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1972), 49-75.

Thomas, John L. "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," *American Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965), 656-681.

Thompson, E. P. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, XXXVIII (December, 1967), 56-97.

Wallace, Michael. "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828," *American Historical Review*, LXXIV, No. 2 (December, 1968), 453-491.

UMI

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System," *Journal of American History*, LVIII, No. 2 (September, 1971), 316-341.

Records of Societies and Organizations

American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race

Constitution of the American Convention . . . Adopted on the Eleventh Day of December, 1818, to Take Effect on the Fifth Day of October, 1819. Philadelphia: printed for the Convention by Hall & Atkinson, 1819. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Seventeenth Session of the American Convention . . . Convened at Philadelphia, on the Third Day of October, 1821. Philadelphia: published by order of the Convention by Atkinson & Alexander, 1821. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Nineteenth Session of the American Convention . . . Convened at Philadelphia, on the Fourth Day of October, 1825. Philadelphia: printed by order of the Convention by Atkinson & Alexander, 1825. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the American Convention . . . Convened at Baltimore, on the Twenty-fifth of October, 1826. Baltimore: printed by order of the Convention by Benjamin Lundy, 1826. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Twentieth Session of the American Convention . . . Convened at Philadelphia, on the Second of October, 1827. Baltimore: published by order of the Convention by Benjamin Lundy, 1827. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Adjourned Session of the Twentieth Biennial American Convention . . . Held at Baltimore, November, 1828. Philadelphia: published by order of the Convention by Samuel Parker, 1828. (NYHS)

Minutes of the Twenty-First Biennial American Convention . . . Convened at the City of Washington, December 8, A. D. 1829. Philadelphia: printed by order of the Convention by Thomas B. Town, 1830. (NYHS)

Female Anti-Slavery Society of Chatham-Street Chapel

Constitution and Address. New York: printed by William S. Dorr, 1834. (CU)

General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York

The Charter and By-Laws of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New-York. New York: printed by Edwin B. Clayton, 1833. (NYPL)

Earle, Thomas, and Congdon, Charles T. (ed.). Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, from 1785 to 1880. New York: published by order of the Society, 1882. (UTS)

History of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York: Romance and Realism of a Great Achievement 1785-1932. New York: published by the Mechanics Institute. (NYPL)

Report of the Library and School Committees. New York: William A. Mercein, Printer, 1829. (NYPL)

Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society

Constitution and By-Laws. New York: printed by William S. Dorr, 1839. (CU)

First Annual Report. New York: William S. Dorr, Printer, 1836. (NYPL--Schomberg)

Third Annual Report. New York: William S. Dorr, 1838. (CU)

Manumission Society of New York

Andrews, Charles C. The History of the New-York African Free-Schools, From Their Establishment in 1787, to the Present Time; Embracing a Period of More Than Forty Years: Also A Brief Account of the Successful Labors of the New-York Manumission Society, with an Appendix . . . New York: printed by Mahlon Day, 1830. (NYPL)

Minutes of the Manumission Society of New York. (NYHS)

New England Society in the City of New York

Brainerd, Cephas, and Brainerd, Eveline Warner (ed.). The New England Society Orations: Addresses, Sermons and Poems Delivered Before The New England Society in the City of New York 1820-1885. 2 vols. New York: published for the Society by The Century Co., MCMI. (NYHS)

Minutes of the New England Society in the City of New York. (NYHS)

New-York City Anti-Slavery Society

Address of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, to the People of the City of New-York. New York: printed by West & Trow, 1833, (UTS)

New-York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society

Address of the New-York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, to Their Fellow-Citizens. New York: W. T. Coolidge & Co., 1834. (NYPL)

First Annual Report. New York: W. S. Dorr, Printer, 1835. (CU)

Union Society of Journeyman House Carpenters

Constitution and By-Laws of the New York Union Society of Journeyman House Carpenters, Adopted November 19, 1833. (NYPL)

Public Documents

New York State. Secretary of State. *Census of the State of New-York, for the Years 1825 and 1830*.

New York State. Secretary of State. *Census of the State of New-York, for 1835*.

New York State. Secretary of State. *Census of the State of New-York, for 1845*. Vol. II.

New York State. *Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821, Assembled for the Purpose of Amending the Constitution of the State of New-York*. (Photo reprint by Da Capo Press, 1970.)

U.S. Census Office. *Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States, and of Their Manufactures*. (1820)

U.S. Census Office. *Fourth Census of the United States: 1820*.

U.S. Census Office. *Fifth Census of the United States: 1830*.

U.S. Census Office. *Sixth Census of the United States*: 1840.

U.S. Senate, Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads,

UMI

20th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1829, Senate Documents 1-13, 5-79, Vol. I, Report No. 46. (Richard M. Johnson's report opposing the Sunday-mail petitioners.)

Newspapers

New York Commercial Advertiser. 1827-1834. (NYHS)

The Man (New York). 1834-35. (NYPL)

New York Observer. 1825-1831. (NYHS)

The Radical, in Continuation of the Working Man's Advocate (Granville, N. J.). 1841-1843. (CU)

New York Sentinel and Working Man's Advocate. 1830. (NYPL)

New York Working Man's Advocate. 1829-1836. (NYPL, NYHS)

Other

Frazee, John. "Autobiography of John Frazee, First American Sculptor, b--1790--Rahway, N. J." (Copied from the Marsh Papers at the New Jersey Historical Society--Newark, N. J., by H. A. Frazee, 1944) (NYPL)

Note on abbreviations: CU=Columbia University; NYHS=New-York Historical Society; NYPL=New York Public Library; UTS=Union Theological Seminary.